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FIG. 1—Silos, *Abbey of Santo Domingo*: Cloister; Descent from the Cross, Relief of Northeast Pier

FROM MOZARABIC TO ROMANESQUE IN SILOS*

By MEYER SCHAPIRO

IN SPAIN, unlike France, the Romanesque styles of architecture and imagery were formed in almost abrupt transition from the preceding native styles. Whereas in France it is difficult to demarcate, even roughly, a Romanesque from a pre-Romanesque art because of the slow and continuous growth of the forms since the tenth century, in Spain, outside of Catalonia, it is evident that a new art appears in the second third of the eleventh century, and that the traditional native style is soon replaced by it. The sudden emergence of Romanesque art in Spain has been explained by circumstances outside art: the activity of French Cluniac monks in Spain transformed the Spanish church and, together with the French alliances of the Spanish kings, made possible the introduction of the Romanesque style of France into León, Galicia, Aragon and Castille. That these circumstances account for specifically French elements in the new Spanish art is undoubtedly true; but this statement reduces the change to a mere influence of a stronger on a less powerful church or state and tells us nothing about the effect of the native situation on the content and style of the art. It neglects in Spain, as it does in France, the mode of operation of such factors as religious organization and politics within the art itself. If a great mass of evidence confirms the connections between Spanish centers and the foreign sources of the new style, little has been said of the local conditions which made this new style appropriate and even necessary. Yet the documents exist which enable us to see the active side of this absorption of foreign art and the creation of a native Romanesque style. In the great monastery of Santo Domingo de Silos, especially, we can follow the emergence of the new style, because both Mozarabic and Romanesque styles were practised in the abbey at the same moment, and their products have survived. We can observe here the interaction of the two arts and their influence on each other. And in the light of documents of the time, it is possible to see how new conditions in the church and the secular world led to new conceptions of the traditional themes or suggested entirely new subjects. In studying the art of Silos during this brief but crucial moment, I will isolate a few works in which the relations of the two styles are most apparent. A more comprehensive study might lead us to change our conclusions; but it would have to follow the method employed here, the critical correlation of the forms and meanings in the images with historical conditions of the same period and region.

It is at the end of the eleventh century that we find two distinct and, in many ways, opposed styles in Silos. At this period the east and north galleries of the lower cloister were being sculptured¹ and the monks of Silos were producing the copy of the Commentary

* For their kind permission to reproduce photographs I am indebted to Mrs. Arthur Kingsley Porter (Figs. 1, 11, 15, 17, 22, 23, 26, and 33), Mr. Walter Muir Whitehill (Figs. 2, 3, 19, and 28) and the Pierpont Morgan Library (Figs. 16, 30, and 31).

1. The date of the sculptures is still a highly controversial matter. I have indicated some of the reasons why the

palaeographical arguments for a dating before 1073 or in the second quarter of the twelfth century are untenable in *THE ART BULLETIN*, XII, 1930, pp. 103 ff. The closest stylistic parallels to the sculptures of Silos are to be found in works of the end of the eleventh century (the cloister of Moissac, especially the capitals of the south gallery) rather than in the sculptures of Souillac and of St.-Etienne

of Beatus on the Apocalypse now in the British Museum (Add. ms. 11695). The sculptures are works of Romanesque art, the manuscript is a typical, though belated, example of Mozarabic style. By 1100 the latter was already dying out, whereas great Romanesque buildings were rising everywhere in Christian Spain.

The practice of these two styles in the same monastery was not simply a matter of two stages of a development carried by overlapping generations. The Romanesque can hardly be considered a gradually evolved form of Mozarabic art. Nor is the coincidence due to a chance survival of random works from a time when one of these styles was predominant. The Beatus manuscript was a great enterprise of more than a hundred paintings, and the sculptures in question form one of the largest groups of monumental carving in Spanish Romanesque art. The creation of the manuscript was in fact a long activity spread over a period of at least twenty years. The writing, undertaken during the rule of the abbot Fortunius, was completed in 1091 and the painting, under one of his successors, in 1109. Several colophons attest the deliberate character of the project.² The names of no less than six individuals—monks and abbots—are cited in connection with the work.

The same opposition of styles appears again in Silos in a single monument. On the portal of the Virgins, a remnant of the Romanesque upper church constructed after the cloister, in the first half of the twelfth century, the outer frame of the doorway, facing the cloister, is a molded and sculptured semicircular arch of common Romanesque type (Fig. 3); the inner doorway, however, is unmolded, undecorated and horseshoe in form, like the Mozarabic arches of the tenth century (Fig. 2).³

Such a coincidence of styles is not unparalleled in medieval art. It appears especially in times of crucial historical change. Then new forms may emerge beside an older art not simply as a development from it, but also as its very negation, and the old may persist beside the new in affirming an opposed or declining culture. At this very period in England the old Anglo-Saxon manner and the new post-Conquest style exist side by side within single works.⁴

in Toulouse, which are plastically far more advanced. I have also presented in the course of this article new evidence from manuscript painting and liturgy confirming a date after 1081 and towards the end of the eleventh century. See especially notes 166 and 215 below.

2. Folios 6v, 265v, 275v, 276, 277v, 278. The colophons are published by Férotin, M., *Histoire de l'abbaye de Silos*, Paris, 1897, pp. 265-268. They seem to be contradictory, since two of them state that the manuscript was completed in 1091, and another says that on the death of the abbot Fortunius (who is last recorded, as alive, in an inscription of 1100 in S. Frutos) *minima pars ex eo facta fuit* (f. 275v); but the context of the latter suggests that only the painting was incomplete then, for . . . *dominus Petrus prior . . . complevit et complendo ab integro illuminabit . . . era 1147* (1109 A.D.). On f. 198 a painting of the abbot John with a crozier, in the style of the unframed marginal miniatures, also indicates that part of the painting of the manuscript was done not long before 1109.

3. See Whitehill, Walter M., *The Destroyed Romanesque Church of Santo Domingo de Silos*, in *THE ART BULLETIN*, XIV, 1932, pp. 317, 318, figs. 1 and 5; and Gómez-Moreno, Manuel, *El arte románico español*, Madrid, 1934, pl. CXIX, and pp. 99, 100. On the contemporaneity of the two arches see Gómez-Moreno, *ibid.*, pp. 99, 100. That the horseshoe arch was used in Spanish Romanesque churches in the twelfth century is evident from the example of Porqueras, dated in 1182 (Lamperez, *Historia de la arquitectura cristiana en España*, second ed., II, p. 269). L. Huidobro

Serra has supposed, however, that the horseshoe arch in Silos is a relic of a Mozarabic church prior to the eleventh century (See *Boletín de la Comisión provincial de monumentos históricos y artísticos de Burgos*, VIII, 1929, p. 398). He reports a tradition, recorded in the *Libro de Visita* of Silos in the year 1709 (now in the diocesan archives in Burgos), that when Fernán González conquered Silos in the tenth century, he found there a Christian basilica that must have been Mozarabic, since he mistook it for a Mohammedan mosque and entered it on horseback with his soldiers. When he learned his error, the horses were unshod and the horseshoes placed on the portal as amends for the profanation. The portal survived in this form to 1709. Is not this story perhaps a late legend to account for the horseshoe form in the old buildings of the region? It seems to be an amalgam of familiar elements, the horseshoe hung over doors to bring good luck and the chains of Christian prisoners of the Moors suspended near the tomb of their deliverer, St. Domingo, in Silos.

4. I refer to the two crucifixions in the Winchester psalter, British Museum, Arundel 60, and to the contrast of the prefatory miniatures and the initials in the manuscript of Augustine's City of God in the Laurentian Library, pl. XII, 17 (Biagi, *Reale Bibliotheca medico-laurenziana. Reproductions from Illuminated Manuscripts*, Florence, 1914, pls. X-XII, and New Palaeographical Society, *Facsimiles*, Series I, II, pls. 138, 139). The Laurentian manuscript has been regarded by Biagi and the editors of the New Palaeographical Society as a continental work of

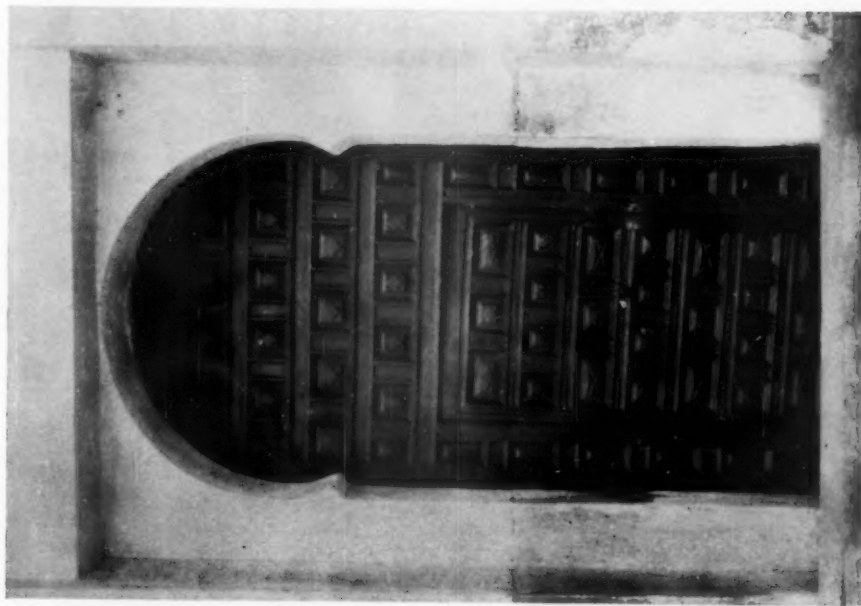


FIG. 2—Silos: Portal of the Virgins Inner Doorway before Restoration

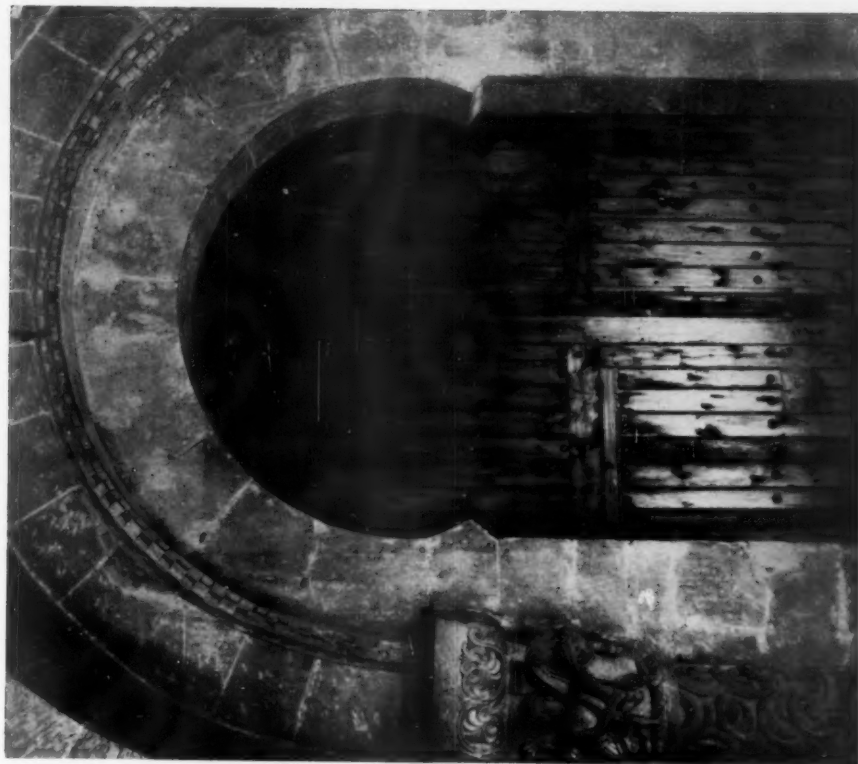


FIG. 3—Silos: Portal of the Virgins Outer Doorway after Restoration



FIG. 4—London, British Museum: *St. John Beatus Commentary on the Apocalypse*; Add. MS. 11695, f. 163 v



FIG. 5—London, British Museum: *A King*; Add. MS. 11695, f. 102

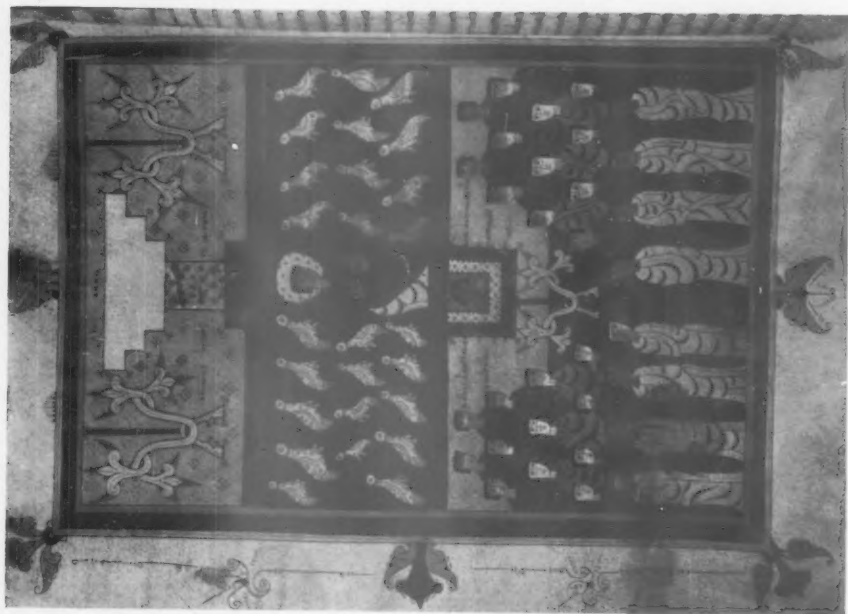


FIG. 6—London, British Museum: *Add. MS. 11695, f. 105 v*

In Silos the opposition of Mozarabic and Romanesque is hardly so thorough as would appear from these larger contrasts. If the Beatus manuscript is Mozarabic in style several of the miniatures already betray the existence of Romanesque art. And, in the same way, we will find in the Romanesque sculptures qualities and details that recall the local Mozarabic art.

But there is an evident difference between the persistence of qualities of Mozarabic style *within* Romanesque art, as a matter of historical continuity or transition, and the persistence of Mozarabic style as a whole *beside* Romanesque art, as an effort of conservation. It is these varying relations of Mozarabic and Romanesque which will be investigated, in their broader historical contexts, in this paper.

I

In the manuscript, the Romanesque qualities and details appear only in marginal or terminal miniatures, in every case unframed and without a painted background (Figs. 4 and 5), unlike the apocalyptic scenes⁵ (Fig. 6). With one exception (Fig. 7), they are small isolated figures, usually an angel or a personage, loosely related to the adjoining text (Fig. 5). Their Romanesque character is more a tendency than a developed practice; they are still inert, distinct spots of intense color, with broadly outlined silhouettes and schematic, unmodeled, linear folds, like the Mozarabic figures in the same manuscript. It is mainly in the expansiveness of a drapery edge, in a slight vivacity of posture or incipient complexity of line that Romanesque art is suggested.⁶ Their incidental marginal character in the illustration of the book corresponds to the limited and superficial role of the new Romanesque forms. The Mozarabic nucleus is only barely touched by the Romanesque elements.

There are two miniatures, however, in which the Romanesque character is more apparent. One is a painting of a musician and a knife-dancer, the latter grasping a bird which bites his face (Fig. 9); the second is an image of Hell placed before the Apocalyptic text (Fig. 7).⁷

Observe in this frontispiece painting the elongation of the angel Michael, his unstable, pirouetting posture, the flying draperies and energetically contrasted lines, and the complicated involvement of surfaces. A very similar Michael stands at the entrance to Hell in a fresco of the twelfth century in St. Loup-de-Naud (Fig. 8);⁸ and corresponding forms may be cited in many French works of the same period.⁹

the late eleventh century, but is more probably, I think, an English work of the early twelfth century related to Canterbury—as will be evident from a comparison of the initials with British Museum, Cleopatra E 1, a register of the See of Canterbury (*ibid.*, I, pl. 60), Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS. 157 (*ibid.*, pl. 87), and British Museum Vitellius, CXII, f. 121 (both from Canterbury); and with Rochester manuscripts in the British Museum (Royal 12 E XX, etc., *Catalogue*, IV, pl. 73c).

5. Folio 2 (Hell), 82v (St. John), 86 (musician and dancer), 59 (angel), 63v (angel), 64 (eagle), 77 (angel), 102 (king), 131 (angel), 163v (St. John), etc.

6. A symptomatic detail in distinguishing the "Romanesque" from the Mozarabic in this manuscript is the drawing of the angels' wings. In the "Romanesque" miniatures the wings are scalloped and imbricated (f. 131)—unlike the stiffer Mozarabic shapes—and approach the wing-forms in the sculptures of Silos and in the Beatus manuscript of Saint-Sever (Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 8878).

7. It belongs to a gathering—a union of f. 1 and f. 2—physically and textually independent of the Beatus Commentary, but it is possibly related to a lection on the Day of Judgment and to the monastic canons at the end of the manuscript (f. 274v, 275). (F. 3 is an isolated leaf; f. 4 and 5, 6 and 7, form separate unions, but are decorated in Mozarabic style.) The association of a vision of Hell, like f. 2, with the Apocalypse is not uncommon in the Middle Ages; the *Visio sancti Pauli* is sometimes included in manuscripts of the Apocalypse (cf. Toulouse manuscript of the fourteenth century, published by Meyer, P., in *Romania*, XXIV, 1895). Among the Beatus manuscripts, the Romanesque copy in Turin also includes a prefatory miniature of Hell.

8. See *Mon. et Mém. Piot*, XXI, 1913, pl. XII. The conception of the archangel at the gate of Hell goes back apparently to the eighth or ninth century; cf. an ivory carving of c. 800 in the Victoria and Albert Museum attributed to Tours (Goldschmidt, *Elfenbeinskulpturen*, I, 178), but pos-

If in Mozarabic art the figures in a common action are detached from each other and immobilized (Fig. 6), in Romanesque art the activity of a figure, in other respects increasingly naturalistic, often exceeds in its energy of response the natural organic adjustment to the surrounding objects. The movement seems disengaged from any external cause and is concentrated within the figure itself as an unstable, tense, and intricate play of crossed limbs and draperies.¹⁰ And similarly, when an isolated Romanesque figure is immobilized and lengthened, as on the columnar sculptures of the portals, it is rigid rather than relaxed, as if subject to constraining forces.

This characteristic ambiguity of the posture of the angel, who is stationed yet unstable, active but self-constrained, is only one element in a larger involvement of unstable axes and opposed movements which pervades the entire conception of the Hell-scene.

The quatrefoil shape of Hell would seem to entail a closed, strictly centralized scheme with an inner radial cross pattern, corresponding to the rectangular form of the page, as in the frequent cosmographic images in medieval art. But no two elements realize the implied accord. There is, indeed, a central figure—the symbol of Avarice—with four surrounding demons; it is not, however, the precise iconographic or formal center of the field. Not only is there a second competing vice, Unchastity, with which two of the demons are concerned, but the angel Michael outside the frame negates the simple centrality of the quatrefoil scheme. One of the demons, Barrabas, is occupied both with the archangel's scales and the unchaste pair, and in this double action crosses the frame. The four devils, far from repeating the static arrangement of the uniform lobes of their frame, show in their postures an inner gradation and progression of movements: Barrabas is completely turned away from the lovers whom he pricks with his rod, but faces Michael and manipulates the scales outside the field of Hell; Beelzebub assails Dives more directly, but his legs are turned vigorously away from the center of the field; in Radamas the ambivalence of posture is still present, but the inward movement begins to dominate; in Aqimos, the smallest of the demons, there is no weapon for action at a distance but an immediate contact, a direct grasping of the figure, which he faces fully, with his hand and crab's claws issuing from his body. Here, significantly, the demon has only one leg and one arm, and is therefore the least capable of the double movement of the others.

This larger rotation of the field is maintained in the inscriptions. And even the small

sibly English, in view of its characteristically Anglo-Saxon Hell-mouth and the insular ornament on its mate (*ibid.*, I, p. 179). The identification of the archangel with the scales as Michael occurs in the same period as the miniature of Silos on a capital in Chauvigny in Poitou. On a capital in Moissac, the same inscription as in Silos, *S.M.*, is used to designate the angel who puts the devil in the abyss. On the north portal of S. Miguel in Estella (Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, ill. 783) Michael appears first in combat with the dragon, then weighing souls and disputing with the devil. Künste (*Iconographie der christlichen Kunst*, I, p. 249) is therefore wrong in saying that the inscription of Michael's name in Chauvigny is simply an error of the ignorant sculptor. It is evidently traditional in southern France and in Spain. Cf. also Didron, *Christian Iconography*, London, 1886, II, pp. 178 ff. and fig. 217, for other examples of Michael as the psycho-static angel.

9. Cf. the Matthew symbol on the tympanum of Moissac (Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, ill. 340), the Isaiah in Souillac (*ibid.*, ill. 344), the Jeremiah of Moissac (*ibid.*, ill. 363), and figures in Toulouse (*ibid.*, ill.

310, 440) and Cahors (*ibid.*, ill. 429). The type is also common in the manuscripts of Limoges (Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 8, 1987, etc.). For a Spanish example contemporary with the Silos miniature, cf. the drawing of bishop Arnulfus, reproduced by Porter in *Burlington Magazine*, March, 1928, pl. VI D, opp. p. 127.

The crossed legs of Michael in Silos may have been suggested by the analogy to the ruler or judge who at this time is often shown with legs crossed to symbolize his deliberation or judicial function.

10. The peculiar interlacing of the mantle and the left arm of Michael appears in the elders of the tympanum of Moissac (see *THE ART BULLETIN*, XIII, 1931, Figs. 100, 101 and p. 476). For Spanish examples, cf. the initials in the *Diurno* of Sancho, 1055 (Gómez-Moreno, *op. cit.*, pl. IV, lower right) and in a manuscript from S. Millan de la Cogolla (*ibid.*, pl. XV a), undoubtedly influenced by French art. Also significant for the Romanesque character is the conception of the silhouette of Michael as an emphatically scalloped form analogous to the curves of the quatrefoil of Hell (cf. the portal of Moissac, *THE ART BULLETIN*, XIII, 1931, p. 523 and Figs. 129, 131).



FIG. 7—*London, British Museum: Hell; Add. MS. 11695, f. 2*



FIG. 8—*St.-Loup-de-Naud: Last Judgment*
Wall Painting



FIG. 9—*London, British Museum:*
Fongleurs; Add. MS. 11695, f. 86



FIG. 10—*Santiago de Compostela:*
Luxuria, Relief

filler spots, the floating islands in a cartographic space, sustain the effect of a dynamic, accelerating whole not only in their plasmic, mobile forms, but in their progressively varied axes which seem to respond to the churning movement of the whole—a liquid field with swarming infusorial elements. The rotation, the lambent and liquid shapes—even in the flamelike hair and feet of the demons—evoke in their purely dynamic aspect, abstracted from the content, the qualities of Hell described by medieval ascetics in their most gruesome visions, which sometimes include, characteristically enough, the spectacle of a great wheel of torment, as well as alternations of fire and water.

It is this very rotation which binds the excluded figure of Michael to the field of Hell. He is suspended horizontally at the top of the field and disoriented, as if the common ground-line were the vertical side of the page. The painting can therefore be seen in two ways—with respect to the position of Michael or the position of Dives in the center of Hell. If we turn the page in order to stabilize the archangel, then Dives is unstable. In either case one of the stable elements becomes detached from the imaginary ground-line of the other. But even the remaining stably oriented figure is formally unstable. We have already observed the pirouetting, unsupported posture of Michael. In Dives the conflict of directions assumes an even denser and more expressive form. Whereas the aristocratic Michael stands on a narrow pointed base of inwardly converging toes, Dives sits or squats with feet far apart and turned outward on a tensely expanded base.¹¹ In the very moment of contraction into a compact central mass his body is stretched out, pulled apart by his own effort; this centrifugal tendency of the limbs corresponds to the movement of the emptying moneybags. But at the same time he is attacked from without by four beasts, serpents and toads, which converge on his body in centripetal movements opposed to his own. The axes of the four beasts do not correspond, however, to the axes of the quatrefoil field, despite the evident relation of number. Whatever rigid objects appear in the painting—the weapons of the devils and Michael, the bed, the four finials—are all sharply diagonal and unstable, all opposed to the axes of the quatrefoil frame.

Thus if the radial orientation with respect to the central Dives suggests Mozarabic, maplike or pavement composition and space, the movement of elements towards this center is everywhere countered by opposite movements in a characteristic Romanesque manner. The devils turn back in tormenting their victims; and the finials of the quatrefoil create as vigorous centrifugal directions.

Such diffused energy and complication of movement are foreign to Mozarabic art. Yet within this page we can detect an evident Mozarabic substratum in the complex silhouettes which are formed of simple elements, short geometrical lines composed independently of the organic character of the body. The involvement of the angel's limbs is not sustained throughout, but is lost in places under the more rigid surfaces of swathing drapery. The forms of the lovers in bed show a typically Mozarabic compactness.

We can judge better the distance between this page and Mozarabic art (which creates also qualities of movement and shares in its symbolism and schematized imagery many of the broad medieval characteristics of Romanesque art), if we compare the representation of Hell with a *Beatus* page of corresponding radial design. In the painting of the Elders Adoring the Lamb (Fig. 37), there is not only a circular grouping of objects around the central lamb and a figure of Christ outside and above the circle, like Michael in the paint-

11. Observe in the silhouette of Dives how the projections of the feet, the moneybags, and the serpents are pro-

gressively larger and more curved, and give the whole mass an insectlike or crustacean form.

ing of Hell, but various elements of the vision, especially the symbols of the evangelists and the angels below, are designed to revolve clockwise, as in the first page. The immediate impression is very different, however; the motion appears less sustained, less energetic and free. In the Mozarabic image it is the fixed structure of the visionary world, with its hierarchy of assigned positions and magnitudes, that dominates the living forms, unlike the painting of Hell, where the action of the figures pervades the structure itself. The individual objects, compact and inflexible in contour, are usually built on single axes. With all the subtle divergent directions and asymmetries of color, the whole is finally tied to the cardinal points, and the orientation of the stable, majestic Christ arrests the movement below. The revolving elements are minor in scale, and in their repetition in a single file are submitted statically to an enframing form and to the broader symmetrical structure of the great fields. If the heads of the four beasts change in direction, they are very small and incidental; their movement is perceived as something added to the major stable form. Their color, in fact, reduces the force of the deviation by minimizing the contrast of the heads with the lavender background: the heads of the bull and lion are pale blue, of the man, grey.¹² The latter is the only human head in the entire circle to be colored—undoubtedly to diminish its contrast with the background. Only the eagle has a yellow head, and this color relates it to the yellow spots of the books of the lamb and Christ (and of Christ's tunic) that define a shift from the central vertical axis. In contrast, the large wings of the four symbols form rigorously symmetrical cardinal areas of bright red. The more powerful colors, the reds, greens, and oranges within the circle, are arranged in more regular and stable schemes than the yellows.

It is interesting to see how both the stabilizing and the mobile relationships of the page depend finally on the color. In the main circular field pairs or groups of similar objects are connected diagonally through their common hue and contribute to the rotating effect by the resulting alternation of their colors in a circular path; a shift of axis from the center is produced by a common color of objects along the deviating line; but the symmetry and centrality of the whole are reaffirmed by the strength of cardinally placed, intense spots of red and green and orange. Even in the angels' wings on the lower segment of the circle, the pronounced leftward turn depends as much on the color as on the direction of lines. The sharp diagonal of the figure and wing is divided into three color units, so that the recurrent shift in color contrasts becomes the vehicle of the moving form. A minute analysis of the color of this page would give us a ready insight into the processes of Mozarabic design, but this is impossible here for technical reasons; extensive comparison with other works would be necessary to establish the general principles of Mozarabic color composition. However, several important differences may be indicated here between this page and the color of the more Romanesque painting of Hell.

In the latter, the freer mobile outlines are joined to a new coloring, less intense in contrast of hues than the Mozarabic pages of the manuscript and relatively submerged in the play of lines. Unlike the opaque, band-and-spot coloring of the older style, which isolates each figure as a compact emblematic unit against its varied field, the color of the miniature of Hell is applied in thin, fluid, transparent washes on a blank ground. This ground should not be confused with the blank surface in the simpler Mozarabic paintings of the commentary of Jerome on Daniel (Fig. 11) at the end of the Beatus manuscripts.

12. The reproduction is not faithful to the values of the

original painting and therefore distorts the compositional accents.

It is more richly broken by the filler elements and the densely juxtaposed, pulsating silhouettes of the moving figures. But the very choice of colors is already a sufficient distinction from the Mozarabic works.

In the painting of Hell, a predominantly cool coloring, with purple, blue and lavender that approach a tonal harmony in their low key and reduced intervals, replaces the older contrast of hues. This coloring is common to the demons and the angel; only in the smaller figures of the vices does bright yellow break through in contrast to the subdued tones.¹³ The same coolness prevails in the minor polychromatic devices: whereas in the Mozarabic pages the yellow of a figure or a background zone is often enlivened with many small touches, dots or circles of red, here a green is imposed on yellow, a blue or green on purple. These additions in a local color are themselves the solid local colors of defined parts, unlike the evenly dispersed Mozarabic touches which are more impressionistic and ornamental and produce a fine vibration throughout.

But the polychromy of the Romanesque page is freer in another sense: a single piece of costume may be divided irregularly into different color areas; thus the tunic of the rich man is blue and yellow, without accented boundaries or a distinction of substance in the robe—a common practice in the manuscripts of southern France in the same period.¹⁴ The freedom in the coloring of the figure corresponds to the whimsical and seemingly accidental disposition of the color units.¹⁵ In the Mozarabic pages, the colored areas, though surprisingly irregular, especially within the mosaic of a single figure, are sharply defined units in strong contrast with the background or the adjacent colors and are grouped together in regular bands, often parallel to the background zones or concentric with the divisions of a circular field. Hence the effect of constantly varied, maximum oppositions in the color through the contrasts of hue (and, to a lesser extent, of value) and of pervasive likeness of the ornamentally repeated and stable shapes, which is so characteristic of Mozarabic art. In the Romanesque page, on the other hand, the maximum contrasts are of lines and areas, the contrast of hues being reduced; but in the play of the mobile, ir-

13. The choice of yellow for the miser, the scales, and the lovers' bed was perhaps symbolic. I have not been able to find any texts of the same period supporting such a symbolism (for the theological color symbolism of the middle ages, see Braun, J., *Die liturgische Gewandung*, pp. 728-760; and for secular views, see Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *Liber de proprietatibus*, lib. XIX, cap. viii ff., who speaks of colors as expressing the passions, but in a physiological sense, the face being pallid or red according to the emotions; also Petrus Berchorius, *Reductorii moralis*, lib. XIII, in *Opera*, Antwerp, 1609, III, p. 559). E. A. Wallis Budge (*Amulets and Superstitions*, London, 1930, p. 487), in listing colors of evil, includes orange as luxury, yellow as avarice, but give no reference to texts or images. For yellow as a color of evil and symbol of money in folklore, see the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, s.v. "Gelb," pp. 575 ff. A sixteenth century writer, Alciati (*Emblemata*, Leyden, 1591, no. cxvii, pp. 431, 432) says on colors: "Est cupidus flavus color, est et amantibus aptus. Et scortis, et queis spes sua certa fuit . . ."

There is in the text of the Silos Beatus one interesting example of color symbolism. On fol. 125v a rectangle in solid yellow illustrates the passage on the half hour of silence in heaven. Here, as Francis Wormald suggests to me, silence is golden. But it may be said that in general there is no fixed symbolism governing the choice of colors in the Mozarabic manuscripts, with a special denotation for each color.

14. As in the Bible from Montpellier in the British Mu-

seum (Harley 4772), and in manuscripts from Limoges.

15. The distribution of yellow and blue on Dives is also symptomatic of the Romanesque taste and method of design. It is based on an X scheme more arbitrary with respect to representational values than any I could find in the Mozarabic pages. The right hose of Dives is yellow, the left, blue; the right shoe is blue, the left, yellow. This crossing is hardly naturalistic, but a formal manipulation related to the crossed legs and other chiasmic devices in Romanesque works in southern France. It appears again in the Silos manuscript on fol. 86 in the two jongleurs already cited as Romanesque (Fig. 9). In the left figure, the shoes are green, the hose, yellow and the tunic, green; in the right, the shoes are yellow, the hose, green and the tunic yellow. The rigor of this X pattern is broken by the blue of the knife, the green and purple (dense red dots on blue) of the bird, the purple of the under surface of the left tunic, the yellow of the instrument.

Also characteristic of the color system is the arbitrary division of the quatrefoil of Hell and the general distinction between the qualities of this inner frame and its contents. In the quatrefoil, each lobe has its own central color band, red on left and right, green above, and blue below; but all of these lobes are bordered by yellow within and without. The enclosure is warm in contrast to the cool figures of the field, just as the strictly concentric and quartered bands of the frame are contrasted with the fluid, dispersed elements inside.

regular areas on the white ground there appears a new tendency toward tonal harmony and light-dark contrast prophetic of later art.

Mozarabic painting is an art of color, even more essentially than the stained glass of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in which the drawing has a competing energy and vivacity. In the earlier Beatus manuscripts color is felt as a universal force, active in every point in space and transcending objects; it appears in its greatest intensity and with an exemplary pureness in the empty spaces of the geometrized abstract environment, and is most limited in the figures—coarse vessels containing the same radiant substance as the laterally unbounded zones. This coloristic unity of objects and surroundings is derived from the corresponding unity in late classic illusionistic painting. But what belonged to nature and phenomena in the ancient style has here been spiritualized to the last degree. The melting bands of delicate color, which in classic art rendered atmospherically the gradations of sky and ground, have been transformed into the brilliant, unearthly zones of an abstract cosmos; the articulated bodily forms have hardened into an immobile mass and the plastic draperies into vestigial ornamental markings. In force of expression the passivity of the figures is the pole opposite the intensity of the color, although both the schematized shapes and the grouping of spots of color show common archaic characters. Like an accessory object, the human figure has no will or direction of its own, only a position in a group; what power it has comes mainly from its color—a mosaic of arbitrary hues, a localized, circumscribed bit of the unbounded color substance of the stratified zones. The connection of objects and ground is tense and full of subtle contrasts: the horizontal bands of the field are formed by a division of the whole surface from top to bottom, whereas the figures, with their varying colors, are juxtaposed from side to side (Fig. 16).

Unlike Byzantine painting, where the gold background is constant and differs in luminosity and substance from the earthly objects, in the Mozarabic works the horizontal bands vary from page to page with the affective values of the theme and derive from the naive assimilation of the visionary text their changing color schemes and spacing, in interaction with the qualities of the figures. Where themes of violence suggest diagonal movements, the horizontal bands are drastically traversed in all directions, but the page as a whole preserves the system of colored zones, the strong contrasts, the schematic drawing and the aggregated disposition of the parts which underlies the archaic appearance of the calmer paintings. Each grouping, though adjusted to the constants of the field, has a unique order inherent in the spiritual moment represented. As the four angels holding the mandorla of Christ are arranged quadrilaterally, so in an apocalyptic action the grouping seems to be an emblematic form. In the Beatus manuscripts the successive scenes appear as rearrangements of heraldic attributes; each incident is a new state of the world scheme, an historical manifestation of the divine order.

The relation of the human being to his surroundings in these Mozarabic images, with their peculiar spaces, colors and forms, so remote from a naturalistic art, presupposes a specific stage of the familiar Christian dualisms of God and man, spirit and matter. I cannot undertake to consider here the possible theological counterparts. But I think the conception is clearly distinguishable from those of the Romanesque period when secular interests acquire an independent value and begin to modify the extreme spiritualistic views of the early Middle Ages. Then the human figure, no longer a mere vessel of color, but more individualized, flexible and active, within the persistently religious framework, becomes increasingly the vehicle of expression and acquires, for the first time in Christian art, a monumental relief form; the environment also is more concrete, and new qualities of

movement, line, modeling, and tonal relations replace the older static forms and ungraded intensity of color in an abstractly stratified space.

If we consider now the iconography of the image of Hell, we will find some peculiarly Romanesque conceptions which point more directly to the immediate sources of the attitudes underlying the change of style.

Avarice and Unchastity are brought together here as in Romanesque sculptures in southern France.¹⁶ It is difficult to say whether this choice of the two vices originated in France or Spain; there are Spanish examples of Avarice and Unchastity as old as the first French representations.¹⁷ But undoubtedly the idea is un-Mozarabic and foreign to earlier medieval iconography.¹⁸ In the miniatures of the *Psychomachia* of the Spanish poet, Prudentius—of which, incidentally, we have no medieval illustrated manuscript of Spanish origin—the vices are conceived in a quite different way. Avarice and Unchastity are not singled out as a central or major pair; they are only two among a whole series of vices and are symbolized by female figures fighting with personifications of the militant virtues.¹⁹ In the Silos manuscript the vices are pictured directly and concretely: Unchastity by a pair of lovers embracing in bed; Avarice by the rich man (Dives) with his moneybags, one suspended from his neck, the others in his hands.²⁰ Not the allegorized psychological inner struggle between vice and virtue is shown in this miniature, but the enacted vice and its physical punishment in the afterworld. Monstrous devils, serpents and toadlike creatures, torment the miser; and a demon of unchastity with one leg and one arm, with prominent genitals and a crab's claws (for the missing limbs), attacks the lovers.

16. Cf. the south transept portal of St.-Sernin in Toulouse, and the portals of Moissac, Beaulieu, and Ste.-Croix in Bordeaux.

17. In Santiago and in S. Isidoro of León, but not juxtaposed as in southern France. The oldest Spanish example of Luxuria known to me is a capital in the Panteón of León, 1063; the oldest Avarice, a capital in Iguacel, dated 1072.

18. That is, to artistic tradition. These two vices were already isolated in theological commentary (as in Paul, *Colossians*, iii, 5, "Mortificate . . .") in the early Middle Ages. In one instance (*Allegoriae in universam sacram scripturam*, falsely attributed to Rabanus Maurus, but probably of the same period; see Wilmart, *Revue bénédictine*, 1920, pp. 47-56), they are associated with the twin matters of punishment in Hell, fire and water, which are mentioned in the inscription of our miniature (see below, at note 66)—"Aqua, cupiditas saeculi, ut in Evangelio 'eum in ignem et in aquam misit, ut eum perderet' (Matt. xvii, 15, Mark ix, 22), quod diabolus eos, quos possidet nunc ardore luxuriae concremat, nunc sorde cupiditatis foedat, ut eos perdat" (Migne, *Pat. lat.*, CXII, p. 860). Avarice and Unchastity are juxtaposed in the glossed penitential from Silos, British Museum, Add. MS. 30853 (tenth or eleventh century)—VIII, *De cupiditis*, IX, *De diversis fornicationibus* (see R. Menéndez Pidal, *Orígenes del Español*, in *Revista de filología española*, Anejo I, 1929, p. 18). A synod in Gerona in 1078 also unites these sins—"Concubinarii vero et usurarii, nisi resipiscant, excommunicentur" (Migne, *Pat. lat.*, CLV, 1644, no. IX); and the Gascon troubador Marcabru, who lived in Spain, in listing the sinners destined to Hell, couples "luxurieux et usuriers qui vivent d'ennuyeux métiers" (poem XL, ed. Dejeanne, 1909). A Spanish writer of the second quarter of the twelfth century, Peter of Compostela, in presenting the vices, selects Luxuria, Avaritia and Gula in the order named. He calls avarice the sister of luxury and the mother of usury. See Soto, P. B., *Petri Compostellani De consolatione rationis*

libri duo, in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters*, VIII, Heft 4, Münster, 1912, pp. 78, 79. There are also found together in Spanish medieval manuscripts two poems by Adam Clericus against money (nummus) and against woman (published by J. Amador de los Ríos, *Historia de la literatura española*, Madrid, 1865, II, pp. 355-357).

19. See Stettiner, R., *Die illustrierten Prudentiushandschriften*, Berlin, 1895.

20. The emptying moneybags of Dives recall the same motif in the Prudentius miniatures (cf. Stettiner, *op. cit.*, pl. 7), where the bag of Avaritia is emptied for the poor by the victorious Largitas. But the conception in Silos was based more likely on the Biblical texts, frequently cited in the Middle Ages, on the vanity of riches. Cf. Job xx, 15, 20—"Divitias, quas devoravit, evomet, et de ventre illius extrahet eas Deus" (15), and "Nec est satiatus venter eius, et cum habuerit quae concupierat, possidere non poterit." These two passages are all the more interesting for the miniature since Job xx, 16 refers to the serpent: "Caput aspidem suget et occidet eum lingua viperarum," and since another passage from Job (xxiv, 19) is actually inscribed in the miniature (see below, p. 337). In the later medieval images of Frau Welt, coins fall out of the beltlike serpent around her waist (see Saxl, in the *Festschrift . . . J. Schlosser*, 1927, pp. 104 ff.). Another Biblical passage relevant to the same idea is Ecclesiastes v, 9—"Avarus non implebitur pecunia: et qui amat divitias, fructum non capiet ex eis: et hoc ergo vanitas." It was quoted together with Sirach x, 13—"Cum enim morietur homo, hereditabit serpentes, et bestias et vermes"—and Paul's "neque sperare in incerto divitiarum," apropos of the rich man or miser (cf. Halitgarius, *De octo principalibus vitiis*, Migne, *Pat. lat.*, CV, col. 665). Mr. Benjamin Nelson suggests to me that the emptying moneybags may indicate more specifically the instability of money wealth, a common charge of religious and feudal critics of the merchant class.

In its central position Avarice replaces the more feudal and theological vice of Pride as the *radix omnium malorum*.²¹ The very linking of Avarice and Unchastity—like the manner of presenting them—expresses an elementary realism and betrays the growing strength of secular interests. These basic vices had always existed for the Christian world, but not until the Romanesque period did they become the main subjects of painted and sculptured moral homilies. In singling them out for a special criticism, the church attacked the twin sources of worldliness and secular independence. Sexual love was the chief theme of vernacular poetry, especially in southern France where the higher feudal nobility, more stable than in the North and enriched by its military conquests, by the expansion of agriculture and the reestablishment of commerce and town-life, promoted an aristocratic, libertine culture. Avarice was for the church, and even for this aristocracy,²² the vice of the newly formed and growing burgher class, the money-lenders and merchants for whom money was itself a means of acquiring further wealth.²³ The accumulation of money

21. For the central Superbia in the group of vices, cf. Fig. 12, a drawing in a manuscript of the early eleventh century from Moissac, Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 2077, f. 163 (Halitarius, *Liber . . . de octo principalibus vitiis et unde oriuntur*).

Such shifts in the cataloguing and illustration of vices are characteristic in both antiquity and the Middle Ages. In the oldest Greek records, the chief vices listed are disobedience or lack of piety to parents and the older brother; violations of hospitality, oath and family laws are the gravest misdeeds; at the end of the fifth century, treason to the state is the worst vice; avarice and unchastity are stressed in very late writings, especially among the Stoics (see Dieterich, A., *Nekyia*, 2nd ed., 1913, pp. 163 ff.). For the general variations in catalogues of the vices in the Middle Ages, see the detailed study by Gothein, Marie, *Die Todsünden*, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, X, 1907, pp. 416-484; in her analysis of the numerous lists and citations, she neglects, however, the significant changes in the accent on Superbia or Avaritia as the chief vice. Early Christianity, following Hellenistic tradition and Paul, taught that "radix enim omnium malorum est cupiditas" (I Tim. 6, 10). But after the sixth century pride replaced avarice in the same Pauline formula—"radix vitiorum et malorum omnium superbia" (Gregory, *Moralia in Job*, Migne, *Pat. lat.*, LXXVI, col. 744), and dominated the catalogues of vices in monastic literature. The *De Coenobiorum Institutis* of Cassian, which was widely read in the monasteries (there was an eleventh century copy in Visigothic script in Silos—Paris, Bibl. Nat., Nouv. Acq. lat. 260), in listing the vices, says of Superbia: "origine et tempore primus est" (Migne, *Pat. lat.*, XLIX, col. 421, 422); Isidore writes: "principalium septem vitiorum regina et mater superbia est" (*Sententiarum liber II*, *ibid.*, LXXXIII, col. 639). For this change a Biblical authority could be cited,—Eccl. x, 15, "initium omnis peccati superbia" (cf. Alcuin, *Liber de virtutibus et vitiis, de octo vitiis principalibus et primo de superbia*, Migne, *Pat. lat.*, CI, col. 632). Early monastic writers sometimes link Pride with Unchastity as the chief vices (cf. Odo, abbot of Cluny, c.930-940, *Collationes*, *ibid.*, CXXXIII, col. 528 ff., 554), a connection which survives into the twelfth century, as in a manuscript by an English nun, c.1100 (Bodleian MS. 451) which begins a treatise on the vices thus: "De superbia et fornicatione. Principaliter his duobus vitiis . . ." Because of the persistence of feudal institutions and the varying local relations of aristocracy, church and middle class in the later Middle Ages, avarice never replaced pride completely as the greatest vice, but the two dominate varying according to circumstances and conflicts. Thus a contemporary of the artist of Silos, Guibert of Nogent, whose hostile description of the commune of Laon is classic ("communio

autem novum ac pessimum nomen," Migne, *Pat. lat.*, CLVI, col. 922), also speaks of avarice as "propagatrix vero totius malignitatis quasi infiniti populi," *ibid.*, col. 156). The feudal sense of pride as the chief vice is clearly illustrated in a miniature in the *Hortus Deliciarum* of Herrade of Landsberg (ed. Straub and Keller, pl. XLIII; ed. Engelhardt, pl. II) showing the different vices in battle with the virtues. Only Superbia is mounted; she wears a turban (cf. the later *Frau Welt*, whose vice of Superbia is located in the turbaned head) and sits on a lion skin. The Carolingian writer, Theodulf, describing the vices, also speaks of her as "dux harum" (*Carmina II*, 11). Especially interesting examples of the later monastic conception of pride as the source of all the vices are the stemmatic illustrations in the late twelfth and thirteenth century manuscripts of the *Speculum Virginum* of the Cistercian Conrad of Hirsau—Berlin, Staatsbibliothek 73, from Igny, and Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale 252, f. 29v, from Cîteaux.

22. Thus Andreas Capellanus, in listing the twelve principles of love, begins: "Avaritiam sicut nocivam pestem effugas et eius contrarium [sc. largitatem] amplectaris." (*Andreas Capellani regii Francorum, De amore libri tres*, ed. E. Trojel, 1892, p. 106). Cf. also the troubador Marcabru: "car il a le coeur sous le nombril, le baron qui s'avilit pour de l'argent" (poem XXXVIII, ed. Dejeanne, 1909). The critique of the bourgeois in terms of an inherent incompatibility of avarice and love persisted up to the beginning of the twentieth century. But the independence of the merchant, as an individual with greater freedom of movement, not tied like a peasant or petty nobleman to a fixed piece of land, was also favorable to Luxuria. The common libertine values of the aristocracy and the merchants in the cities underlie the anecdote of Etienne de Bourbon concerning a count of Poitiers (identified by modern scholars with the poet, William of Aquitaine, a contemporary of the artists of Silos), who had tried various professions in disguise in order to compare their pleasures; he would have given the palm to the merchants at the fairs, "qui intrant tabernas . . ." if there had not followed the cruel necessity of paying the bills. (See A. Jeanroy's edition of the poems of Count William, p. x.)

23. Cf. the sermon of Jacques de Vitry addressed "to the bourgeois," in which he attacks them as usurers and identifies the communes with usury (A. Luchaire, *Les communes françaises à l'époque des Capétiens directs*, Paris, 1890, pp. 242-244). The un-Christian character of money wealth is implied in the verses of Peter, a canon of St. Omer, contemporary with the Silos painting—"Denarius regnat, regit, imperat, omnia vincit . . . Quisquis habet nummos, Jupiter esse potest"; and in the poem of Adam clericus mentioned above (note 18)—"In terra summus

wealth through an expanding production and trade cut at the roots of feudalism and indirectly of Catholic Christianity; it made it possible to substitute a cash payment for the personal services to the seigneur or protector and freed individuals from the local ties and the bonds of domestic production on which were founded also the religious and moral ideas of the early Middle Ages. In the miniature from Silos the miser is labeled Dives, just as on some Romanesque portals the parable of Lazarus and the rich man accompanies the image of Unchastity.²⁴ The sculptures of these vices on the outer walls of churches were not directed against the simony or libertine life of certain churchmen, which was so often assailed in the councils of the period.²⁵

Unchastity and Avarice, more than any other vices, were identified at this time with aggressive classes; they implied new individual standards or goals that drew men away from the guidance of the Church. Just as those who valued sensuality or economic enterprise were attached to immediate pleasures and gains, placing their real desires, their consciousness of individual rank and power, and their everyday interests above the supernaturally registered restrictions of the Church, so the illustrations of their vices and punishment in the Romanesque church art became increasingly realistic, but also more grotesque. As men came to know themselves and their own world more and more intimately, the monstrous images of Hell had to be as detailed and specific, as convincing in their concreteness, as the everyday scene. The systematic picture of the invisible region of Hell, far from being a mere aggregate of emblems of sinners and devils, acquired the dynamic continuity and the explicit energies of situations of violence and torment in the familiar world.²⁶

Rex est hoc tempore nummus." Cf. also the Goliardic quatrain—"Jupiter dum orat Danaem, frustra laborat; Sed eam deflorat Auro dum se colorat." The verses of Peter of St. Omer were paraphrased in the Hortus Deliciarum of Herrade of Landsberg beside the miniature of the Expulsion of the Money-Changers from the Temple. Here there is a figure of a merchant labeled Judas Mercator, with a purse at his waist, a coin in the right hand and scales in the left. The text reads: "Judas mercator pessimus significat usurarios quos omnes expellit Dominus, quia spem suam ponat in divitiis et volunt ut nummus vincat, nummus regnet, nummus imperet." (ed. Straub and Keller, pl. LX, p. 46). Also excluded from the temple are two embracing lovers labeled "Fornicator eicitur qui amat juvenulam."

There is an almost literal echo of such medieval criticism of money wealth in Balzac, who speaks of "l'omnipotence, l'omniscience, l'omniconvenance de l'argent" (Nucingen). The bourgeois Crevel in *La Cousine Bette* hails "la sainte, la vénérée, la solide, l'aimable, la gracieuse, la belle, la noble, la jeune, la toute-puissante pièce de cent sous!" The dependence of love on money, their antagonism to feudal-Christian morality, is one of the constant themes of Balzac who describes the bourgeois triumphant over the landed aristocracy, just as Peter of St. Omer describes, from the viewpoint of the church, the primitive emerging bourgeois. As the wealth of the church increases with the economic growth of society, the church is subject to the same criticism: in an acrostic of the twelfth century the first letters of *Radix Omnium Malorum Avaritia* spell out ROMA (cf. Dobiasche-Rojdestvensky, Olga, *Les poésies des goliards*, Paris, 1931, pp. 76 ff.).

24. As in Moissac and Toulouse. In Vézelay there are capitals of Lazarus and Dives and of Unchastity within the church. The story of Lazarus and Dives is also carved on the portal of S. Vincente in Avila. On the importance of money wealth in Silos, see note 128 below.

25. Cf. Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, 1886, IV, p. 691 (Bourges 1031), and p. 789 (Toulouse 1056); V, p. 116

(Poitiers 1078), p. 223 (Clermont 1095), and p. 245 (Nîmes 1096); and nearer to Silos, the council of Burgos in 1080—*ibid.*, p. 158. In Burgos, two bishops had recently been deposed for simony (see Serrano, L., *El Obispado de Burgos y Castilla primitiva desde el siglo V al XIII*, Madrid, 1935, I, pp. 272, 316), and the Roman church had led a campaign against clerical marriage and concubinage, two practices which depleted the church economically and weakened its moral prestige. But if the images of Avarice and Unchastity in the manuscript of Silos referred to these vices within the church itself, they would show quite other attributes. The simonists attacked by the church were kings, nobles, and higher churchmen who sold episcopal offices, not the merchants or burghers shown in Romanesque images of Avarice. Simony was more likely to be symbolized in a theological manner through the figure of Simon Magus (who offered money to Peter for the power to lay on hands—Acts viii, 20; see the citation of Atto of Vercelli in Migne, *Pat. lat.*, CXXXIV, col. 71). He appears between devils and is contrasted with Peter, the true church, in a sculpture in St.-Sernin in Toulouse (Porter, *op. cit.*, ill. 318) and a wonderful capital in Autun (*ibid.*, ill. 73, 75). In a fifteenth century German manuscript, Casanatense 1404, f. 31r, discovered by Saxl, Simony is personified in a miniature by ecclesia vacans, next to which is a wagon led to the jaws of Hell by Cecitas Mentis; in the wagon are Acceptor and Collector, whom the devil inflates with five bellows (*Festschrift J. Schlosser*, 1927, p. 120).

26. Miguel Asín Palacios observes, after d'Ancona, that the literary visions of Hell in the West before the eleventh century are relatively poor and abstract, whereas after the eleventh century a new type of description arises, more detailed and concrete (*Dante y el Islam*, Madrid, 1927, p. 194). He asks how this could come about. Ignoring the internal development in Christian Europe and the corresponding changes in its secular literature, map making, and plastic imagery, he attributes the new fullness of descriptions of Hell simply to the direct influence of Islam. See also note 33 below.

The embracing lovers in the miniature of Silos are in this respect more realistic than the typical Romanesque versions of Unchastity.²⁷ Usually a naked woman with serpents at her breast, and sometimes with toads at her private parts, personifies the vice (Fig. 10). In Silos these animals are shown attacking Dives.²⁸ It may be that the Spanish artist has misunderstood a foreign model; perhaps, ignoring the specificities of vice and punishment, he has transferred the torments of Unchastity to the central figure of Avarice, in terms of the general, more primitive, Apocalyptic conception of loathsome beasts devouring the wicked.²⁹ On a Romanesque capital of the later eleventh century in Toulouse³⁰ there is just such an Avarice, with moneybags and four serpents. The toads, however, are lacking.³¹

The conception of the miser with the moneybag tied to his neck and the unchaste woman tormented by serpents is common to Romanesque and Moslem fantasy. Such images are found in Auvergne, Languedoc, Aquitaine, and northern Spain in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries;³² they are unknown in Moslem art, but Arabic literary accounts of the afterlife describe these very torments.³³ One might suppose that, with

27. Miss Georgiana King has attempted to derive the lovers in bed from Oriental art, by reproducing a similar group from a Persian manuscript of the seventeenth century (see her *Divagations on the Beatus*, *Art Studies*, 1930, p. 39 of the offprint and pl. VI). But the context is entirely different here, and the lovers in bed are too common in Christian art, Greek and Latin, to require such an hypothesis. Cf. the Vienna Genesis (ed. Wickhoff, pl. X), the English psalter in Munich (Cm. 835, f. 20v), the Egerton Genesis in the British Museum (published by M. R. James), etc. Actually the same conception as in Silos appears in an early fourteenth century painting of the Last Judgment in S. Maria del Casale in Brindisi (Toesca, *Storia dell' arte italiana*, III, 1, 2, p. 968, fig. 667). Here, too, the lovers are near the archangel with the scales; and there is even a figure of Avarice.

A good example of bourgeois realism in rendering Luxuria and Avaritia is British Museum, Add. MS. 27695, a Genoese work of the later fourteenth century. Luxuria is illustrated by a bed scene and Avaritia by a transaction in the interior of a money-lender's shop.

28. The animals at his feet are six-legged, but they resemble (in other respects) the toads, which accompany serpents, in the illustration of Hildegard of Bingen's vision of Hell (Liebeschütz, H., *Das allegorische Weltbild der heiligen Hildegard von Bingen*, 1930, pl. VI). They recall also the frogs in the illustrations of the fable of Jupiter and the frogs in the Leyden Aesop from Limoges, a manuscript of c. 1025 (Thiele, G., *Der illustrierte lateinische Aesop der Hs. des Ademar*, Leyden, 1905, pl. VII), although different from the frogs on f. 178v of the Silos Beatus. It is possible that the Spanish artist has confused the eschatologically cognate types of the scorpion, toad, and tortoise which are so vaguely rendered in provincial and folk art of late antiquity and the early Middle Ages. The scorpion, especially, appears six-legged.

29. Cf. the torment of the usurers in the *Visio sancti Pauli*, published by M. R. James after a manuscript of the eighth century: "et vidi . . . flumen repletum multitudine virorum et mulierum et vermes comedebant eos" (Apocrypha Anecdota, in *Texts and Studies*, ed. by J. A. Robinson, II, no. 3, Cambridge, 1893, p. 30). Cf. also the Gerona Beatus (f. 17v) for serpents biting sinners in the scene of the Anastasis. On a Biblical source of the serpents and other beasts tormenting the miser, see note 20 above.

30. Musée des Augustins, no. 653 (?). On a capital in the south aisle of Vézelay, a serpent spans the two purses hanging from the bed of the dying Dives.

31. There is, however, a medieval tradition of the toad

as the tormentor of Avarice. See Sébillot, P., *Le Folk-Lore de France*, III, 1906, p. 295, who cites an anecdote of Etienne de Bourbon about a toad which attacks the face of a miser. Caesarius of Heisterbach (*Dialogus Miraculorum*, XII, 18) speaks of a usurer who lives in Hell on toads and snakes cooked in the sulphurous flames. The toad has also a prominent place in Brueghel's drawing of Avaritia in London (Tolnai, *Die Zeichnungen Pieter Bruegels*, 1925, pl. 30).

32. For examples of Luxuria, see the list in Mâle, *L'art religieux en France au XIIe siècle*, 1922, pp. 375, 376. In Spain there are examples in Santiago, León, S. Isidoro de Dueñas, etc. An example in a relief in Monopoli in southern Italy (c. 1100) is associated with sculptures of the Maries at the Tomb and the Descent from the Cross related iconographically to the reliefs in the cloister of Silos, and stylistically to South French art. There are examples of Avaritia in Clermont-Ferrand, Brioude, Ennezat, Orcival, St. Nectaire, Conques, Vézelay, Albi, Moissac, Toulouse, Iguacel, Loarre, León, Santiago, Sta. Marta de Tera, etc.

33. Cf. Miguel Asín Palacios, *La escatología musulmana en la Divina Comedia*, Madrid, 1919, p. 132 (miser and serpent), 255, n. 1 (miser with purse around neck), 357, 364 (serpent and adulterous woman, serpent and bad mother); also his *Dante y el Islam*, 1927, p. 114 (miser). Asín neglects, however, the possibility that the Moslem and Latin conceptions descend from a common Near Eastern tradition; the *Visio sancti Pauli*, cited in note 29 above, is based on a Greek text older than Islam. See on this point Silverstein, Theodore, *Visio Sancti Pauli* in *Studies and Documents*, ed. by Kirsopp and Silva Lake, IV, London, 1935, pp. 17, 18. Asín refers the Psychostasis in Romanesque and Gothic art to Moslem eschatology, but it is well known that this is a common old Oriental conception, familiar to classical antiquity and the church fathers, and represented in medieval art since the tenth century (see Perry, M. P., *The Psychostasis in Christian Art*, in *Burlington Magazine*, XXII, 1912-1913, pp. 95-105, 208-218). The fact that the psychostatic angel in the Islamic Last Judgment is Gabriel, whereas Michael is specified in Silos and elsewhere (see note 8 above) in Romanesque art also confirms the Christian and independent character of the version in Silos. What is peculiar in Silos is the direct combat of Michael and the devil, a detail that occurs also in Armenian art (miniature in Sevadjan collection, reproduced by Tchobanian, *La Roseaie d'Arménie*, I, 1918, pl. opp. p. 32) and in an English Romanesque manuscript, British Museum, Harley MS. 624, f. 134 v.

Islam so near, the painter in Silos simply drew upon a Spanish Moslem tradition. But the form here is so much closer to the French Romanesque examples that a direct Moslem source seems less certain. Even if absorbed from the Moslems, these conceptions, as iconographic types, would belong to the Romanesque rather than Mozarabic phase of Spanish art, just as the translation of Arabic philosophic and scientific texts into Latin by Spanish Christians is more characteristic of Romanesque³⁴ than of Mozarabic culture.³⁵

Among Romanesque images of Hell, the painting from Silos is nevertheless a highly individual and exotic work. The names of the four devils, Barrabas, Aqimos, Radamas, and Beelzebub, have an evident Semitic flavor. Beelzebub is common enough, Barrabas is a gnostic demon,³⁶ Radamas suggests the gnostic Adamas;³⁷ but Aqimos I have been unable to identify in the literature of demonology.³⁸ He is perhaps a variant of Achamoth, the abortive child of Sophia in Valentinian gnosticism.³⁹ Older Spanish Christian and Moslem literature are rich in demons with Semitic names, but Barrabas, Radamas and Aqimos seem to be unknown among them.⁴⁰ Is their presence in Silos due to obscure native

34. The term Mozarabic is used here, not in the literal sense of Christians in or from Moorish territory, but in the broader sense of the art historians (cf. Gómez-Moreno, M., *Iglesias mozárabes*, Madrid, 1919), to designate the pre-Romanesque Christian arts and culture of León, Castille, and the South of Spain after the Moorish invasion, and works produced outside these regions but showing the qualities or types of the latter. These arts are essentially a development based on Visigothic art and although they include Moslem elements, are less "Arabic" or Moslem than is often supposed. On the relative paucity of Moslem influences in Castille see Pidal, *Orígenes*, p. 504. For examples of Christian-Moslem relations in Silos, see note 188 below.

35. The great period of translation followed the conquest of Toledo in 1085, not because Arabic science for the first time became physically accessible to Spanish Christians, but because of the favorable development of Christian society and culture at that moment. Similarly, the advance in the technique of ivory-carving in the middle and the second-half of the eleventh century, if influenced by Moorish art, depends also on the internal changes in Christian Spain: otherwise how explain the far more primitive technique of the Christian carvings during the tenth and early eleventh centuries when contact with the Moors was certainly very close, as is evident from architecture.

On the special assimilation of Moslem and foreign European luxury in the later eleventh century in Spain, under the stimulus of the new power of the royalty, see Ballesteros, A., *Historia de España*, II, pp. 547-550.

36. For its inscription on gnostic gems, see Schwab, M., *Vocabulaire de l'angéologie*, in *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, X, 1897, p. 392; Cabrol, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie et de liturgie chrétienne*, II, 1, col. 478; for the names Baribas, Thobarrabas and Tobarabas in magic and gnostic writings, gems and inscriptions, see Delatte, A., *Études sur la magie grecque*, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, XXXVIII, 1914, p. 202. Also common as a demonic name in magical papyri is Barbarioth (Preisendanz, K., et al., *Papyri graecae magicae*, I, 1928, p. 71). In later literature, the Barabbas of Matthew xxvii is identified with Antichrist (cf. Isidore, *Allegoriae quaedam scripturae sacrae*, Migne, *Pat. lat.*, LXXXIII, col. 129). Barabio is a devil-name in Piedmontese dialect (cf. Mélusine, VI, p. 30). According to Pierre Delancré (*Tableau de l'inconstance des mauvais anges*, Paris 1612, c. VI, disc. 3) sorcerers brought before justice pretend to renounce the devil and call him disdainfully Barrabas (cited by Collin de Plancy, *Dictionnaire des sciences occultes*, 1846, I, p. 178).

37. Cf. the *Pistis Sophia*: "And Adamas the great tyrant . . . began to war without cause against the light" (translated from the Coptic by George Horner, with introduction by F. Legge, 1924, p. 12). I owe this suggestion to Professor S. Eitrem of Oslo, who conceives of the *Ra* as a prefix, as in the angelic names Rathagael, Rabaphael, Raphael, etc. (Professor Louis Ginzberg surmises that it might be from the Hebrew *Ra*=bad). The Manichean genius, Adamas, is evidently borrowed from the gnostics (cf. Cumont, F., *Adamas génie manichéen*, in *Philologie et Linguistique, Mélanges offerts à Louis Havet*, Paris 1909, pp. 79-82).

38. The conjunction with Radamas at first suggested that the two names were possibly corruptions of Rhadamanthys and Aiaikos, the judges of the Greek underworld, but I have been assured by philologists that such a derivation is improbable (although the idea of a crossing of Rhadamanthys and Adamas to form Radamas might be entertained). Neither Aqimos nor a plausibly related name appears in the extensive list of Semitic demons and angels published by M. Schwab (*op. cit.*). Aqimos recalls Chemosh, the Moabite idol (Numbers xxi, 29; Jeremiah xlvi, 7) identified with Beelfegor by Rabanus in his commentary on Jeremiah; Acham, a demon of Thursday in sorcery (Collin de Plancy, *Dictionnaire infernal*, Brussels, 1845, pp. 14, 161); and Agrimus, the first-born of the demons in Jewish folklore (Louis Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, I, p. 141). My friend, Professor Ralph Marcus, suggests a possible source in Arabic *Aqim*—childless, barren, especially since Aqimos is the demon of unchastity.

39. Achamoth would be known in the Middle Ages through the writings of Tertullian (Migne, *Pat. lat.*, II, cols. 68, 568, 571 ff.).

40. For demonic names in Spanish Early Christian literature, see notes 46 and 47 below. Professor M. Asín Palacios has written me that he has not come upon Radamas or Aqimos in Moslem literature. The physical resemblance of the dark bestial demons in the miniature of Silos to the demons in Moslem painting (cf. Arnold, T., *Painting in Islam*, pp. 89, 109; Blochet, E., *Les peintures des manuscrits orientaux de la Bibliothèque nationale*, p. 275 and pls. 27, 29) need not imply a direct connection; these types were common in Christian literary tradition since the early middle ages. (On the character of demons in early Christian and medieval literature, see Migne, *Pat. lat.*, Index, II, col. 43-50.) There are Mozarabic parallels in the Gerona Beatus (975)—Neuss, W., *Die Apokalypse des hl. Johannes in der altspanischen und altchristlichen Bibelillustration*, Munster i.W., 1931, II, fig. 36.

traditions reaching back to the early Christian period⁴¹ or to a more recent, esoteric contact with Semitic demonology?⁴² Since the twelfth century Toledo was famous throughout Europe as a center of occultism and demonological studies;⁴³ in the later Middle Ages, European magic was nourished by Jewish and Moslem literature from Spain.⁴⁴ But gnosticism had established deep roots in Spain long before.⁴⁵ In denouncing the ravages of the Basilidean heresy between the Pyrenees and the ocean, Jerome cites Armagil, Barbelon, Abraxas, and Balsamus as demonic names drawn from Hebrew sources to impress feminine and superstitious minds.⁴⁶ And the Spanish heretic Priscillian, answering the charges of gnosticism, repudiates Saclam, Nebroel, Samael, Belzebuth, Nasbodeum, and Beliam.⁴⁷ The possibility of a gnostic source appears finally in the strange demon Aqimos, with one leg and one arm; similar monsters are represented on gnostic gems,⁴⁸ although never identical with the figure from Silos.

41. An evidence of the survival of pagan traditions in Silos in the eleventh century is the account of an antique bronze head of Venus which had belonged to an idol still honored on a neighboring mountain; her sanctuary was destroyed by the abbot Domingo and the bronze head was attached to a votive crown of gold which Domingo placed above the altar of his own church (Férotin, *Histoire*, p. 40, n. 3).

The existence of pagan magical practices in Spain in the eleventh century is well attested by the decrees of councils condemning sorcerers, augury, incantations, etc., especially the councils of Coyanza (1050) and Santiago (1056), and by passages in the poem of the Cid and the versified life of S. Domingo by Berceo (see Menéndez y Pelayo, *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles*, 2nd ed., Madrid, 1917, III, p. 326 et passim).

The new book by Stephen McKenna, *Paganism and Pagan Survivals in Spain*, Washington, D. C., 1939, was not available to me when this article was completed.

42. For evidences of Moslem contacts with Silos, see note 188 below.

43. Cf. the frequently quoted passages of Helinand of Froimont, a writer of the early thirteenth century: "Bononiae codices, Salerni pyxides, Toleti demones, et nusquam mores," and of Rabelais on the "reverend père en diable, Picatris, recteur de la faculté diabolique" at Toledo (Pantagruel I, iii, 23). *Ars or scientia toletana* has been the name for magic since the twelfth century. On the traditions concerning demonology and occultism in Toledo see Waxman, S. M., *Chapters on Magic in Spanish literature*, *Revue Hispanique*, XXXVIII, 1916, pp. 325-366, and Menéndez y Pelayo, *op. cit.*, III, *passim*. Spanish writers of the late eleventh and twelfth century, Pedro Alfonso, a converted Jew, and Gundissalino, include occultism among the liberal arts and sciences (see Thorndike, Lynn, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, New York, 1923, II, pp. 72, 79, 80).

44. See Thorndike, *op. cit.*, II.

45. See Menéndez y Pelayo, *op. cit.*, II, *apéndices*, pp. cvii ff. for the texts, and Villada, Z. García, *Historia eclesiástica de España*, I, Madrid, 1929, pp. 77 ff.

46. Ep. 75, to Theodora, Migne, *Pat. lat.*, XXII, col. 687: "Et quia haereseos semel fecimus mentionem, qua Lucinius noster dignae eloquentiae tuba praedicari potest? qui spurcissima per Hispanias Basilidis haeresi saeviente, et instar pestis et morbi, totas intra Pyrenaeum et Oceanum vastante provincias, fidei ecclesiasticae tenuit puritatem, nequaquam suscipiens Armagil, Barbelon, Abraxas, Balsamum, et ridiculum Leusiboram, caeteraque magis portenta, quam nomina, quae ad imperitorum et muliercularum animos concitandos, quasi de Hebraicis fontibus

hauriunt barbaro simplices quosque terrentes sono; ut quod non intelligunt, plus mirentur."

47. In his *Liber Apologeticus*: "anathema sit qui Saclam, Nebroel, Samael, Belzebuth, Nasobodeum, Beliam, omnesque tales, quia daemones sunt." (*Corpus Script. Eccl. Lat.*, XVIII, p. 17; and Menéndez y Pelayo, *op. cit.*, II, *Apéndices*, pp. xv, xxi, xxx). In the same work he repudiates also the demons named by Jerome: "neque Armaziel . . . Mariam, Ioel, Balsamus, Barbelon, deus est." Isidore, however, speaks of him as the pupil of the gnostic, Mark of Memphis, who was a magician and a disciple of Mani (*De viris illustribus* cap. xv, Migne, *Pat. lat.*, LXXXIII, col. 1092). In this he repeats a text of Jerome.

For the opinion that the *Liber Apologeticus* is not by Priscillian, but by a follower, see Labriolle, P. de, *History and Literature of Christianity from Tertullian to Boethius*, New York, 1925, pp. 308, 309.

48. Cf. the genius Athermoph with only one leg, but two arms and two heads, on a gem in the Cabinet des Médailles (2182); on a similar one-legged figure, on a gem inscribed IAW, the arms are truncated (Kopp, U. F., *Palaeographia Critica*, 1829, IV, p. 220). (On the interest in magical engraved gems in Spain in the middle ages, see Thorndike, *op. cit.*, II, p. 857.)

The absence of a member seems to be quite typical in late antique and oriental demonic figures. In a Greek gnostic work of the fifth or sixth century, the Testament of Solomon, there is a demon Abezethibod, having only one wing ("spiritus molestus, alatus, unicum alam habens," Migne, *Pat. gr.*, CXXII, col. 1355, 1356; cf. also Conybeare, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, London, XI, 1898/9, p. 44); and in magical literature, a devil, Abyzou, without a breast (and its modern Greek counterpart, Monobyza, Pradel, F., *Griechische und süditalienische Gebete, Beschwörungen und Rezepte des Mittelalters*, Giessen, 1907, p. 339) and a headless demon ("akephalos daimon," Delatte, in *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, XXXVIII, 1914; Hopfner, T., *Griechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber*, II, 1924, §186 ff.; Preisendanz, K., *Akephalos der kopflose Gott, Beihefte zum "Alte Orient"*, 8, 1926); in a demotic invocation, Osiris is described as having only one foot (Hopfner, *op. cit.*, II, 1924, pp. 130, 131).

For the survival of such conceptions in the Middle Ages, cf. Pradel, *op. cit.*, pp. 339, 346, and Vassiliev, A., *Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina*, I, Moscow 1893, p. 336, for a one-legged demon "monopodarena," the mother of Belzebouel, Sachael, and Zazael. In Nordic mythology the giant god-dess, Hel, who presides over the lower world has a horse with only three feet.

I have not succeeded, however, in finding an exact duplicate of the demon of Silos, with one leg and one arm, in

If these demons are indeed gnostic, how shall we explain their unique presence in a Romanesque painting, at a time when religious art seems to be completely subject to the teachings of the church? The profuse repertoire of gnostic (and the related Manichean) motifs survived in medieval Christianity in quite distinct ways. From the very beginning, the texts of Christianity resemble gnostic writings in many details, either because of direct borrowings from the latter or because of a common dependence on Greek and

Christian literature or art. The type is nevertheless very widespread. In China and among various primitive peoples rain and moon gods are described as having one leg and one arm (see Hentze, Carl, *Mythes et symboles lunaires*, Antwerp, 1932, pp. 148-154). Such a figure appears also in the so-called Bushman painting in South Africa with apparent reference to magical production of rain (Stow, G. W., and Bleek, D. F., *Rock-Paintings in South Africa*, London, 1930, pl. 67A). Bochart described, after Arabic popular tradition, a half-man, called "nisnan," in Arabia Felix: "caput scilicet, et collum, et pectus dimidia, venter quoque dimidius, oculus unus, auris una, manus una, pes unus, quo . . . tamen citissime fertur, atque arbores etiam scandit" (*Hierozoicon*, London 1663, III, p. 845; Leipzig, 1796, III, p. 847). European folklore abounds in giants, ogres and demons with missing limbs, or with single members, half-men with one eye, one leg, one arm, one tooth, one horn (cf. *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Märchens*, ed. Bolte and Mackensen, I, 1930-33, p. 478; Loomis, Roger S., *Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance*, New York, 1927, p. 120, 122). All demons are believed to be one-eyed (see the article "Einäugigkeit," in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, II, pp. 694, 695). In the painting from Silos, the profile form of the devils' heads, which gives effect of a one-eyed being, is perhaps intentionally demonic and malign, since Michael and the sinners are all shown with two eyes. (For a Romanesque parallel, cf. the devil in the relief of Souillac.) In the thirteenth century, the Spanish bishop, Luke of Tuy, says that the Catharists represent the Virgin Mary with the most repulsive features and give her only one eye to express the idea that Christ had humbled himself in choosing for his mother the ugliest of women (Guiraud, J., *Histoire de l'Inquisition au Moyen Age*, I, 1935, p. 165; the original text, published in the *Bibl. patrum* of Lyons, vol. 25, is not available to me). I do not believe that this is simply a stupid misinterpretation of a profile image, since the profile was common enough in orthodox paintings in the time of Luke of Tuy; but it may express a fanatically conservative judgment of the difference between the frontal view of the Virgin as the traditionally religious, iconic appearance (with its quasi-magical fascination of the spectator, like the frontal form in old Oriental art) and the profile or three-quarters view as the more indifferent and secular, therefore the more evil and "modern" one. For the same writer also rejects the three-nail crucifixion, a recent innovation, as Albigenian (much like those who criticize Expressionist painting as "Kulturbolschewismus.") According to Franz Settegast, who cites from the Mabinogion a wild black demonic figure with "but one foot and one eye" (*Das Polyphemmärchen in altfranzösischen Gedichten*, Leipzig, 1917, p. 68, 69), such monstrous half-men are derived from the classic literary accounts of the Orient, especially of India; cf. the "homines, qui 'monocoli' appellantur, singulis cruribus saltuatim currentes" (Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.*, lib. ix, cap. 4) reported also by Ctesias, Pliny, Solinus, and Isidore and identified with the Sciapods, who shade themselves from the sun with their one leg. These Sciapods (Pliny, *N. H.*, lib. vii, cap. 2) were often represented in Romanesque art; interesting for Silos is the example in the *mappamundi* which precedes the Beatus manuscript of 1086 in Burgo de Osma. But the overt sense of this figure

seems to be purely ethnographic, not demonic; he is shown in a landscape with the sun. The accompanying inscription describing the Sciapod is taken from Isidore, *Etymol. lib. xi*, c. 3 (Migne, *Pat. lat.*, LXXXII, col. 422). The same text appears beside a very similar Sciapod and sun in an English manuscript of the early twelfth century, Bodleian 614, f. 50r (see James, M. R., *The Marvels of the East*, Roxburghe Club, 1929). Another Spanish work possibly related to the demonic type in the Silos Beatus is the double figure of two monsters labelled "geride marine" on f. 60 of the Codex Vigilanus, a collection of canons, dated 975, from Albelda (Escorial d. I, 2); two half-figures, each with a horned beast head, one leg and one arm, are joined together.

Nearer to the moral context of the miniature from Silos, and also physically the closest to Aqimos, are the two devils grasping a naked figure (the soul) of a sinner in an English eleventh century psalter from Bury (Vatican, *Regina lat.* 12, f. 62 v). Each has only one leg, ending in bird's claws; the unclarity of the drawing makes it difficult to decide whether there are two arms; the left demon seems to grasp the sinner with a claw issuing from the region of the belly. The miniature illustrates psalm LI—"quid gloriaris in malitia . . ." Also related to Aqimos in these respects is the conception of Frau Welt in German art of the fifteenth century. This incarnation of the vices (pride, avarice, unchastity, etc.) is a synthetic, allegorical monster, with one leg (the right) ending in a bird's foot, and the left hand sometimes hacked off (see Stammer, Wolfgang, *Allegorische Studien*, in *Deutsche Vierteljahrschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte*, XVII, pp. 16 ff. and figs. 8-10, pl. V; and Saxl, Fritz, *Aller Tugenden und Laster Abbildung*, in *Festschrift für Julius Schlosser*, 1927, pp. 104 ff.). In Silos the absence of one arm and one leg may pertain to the character of the demon Aqimos as the tormentor of the unchaste couple, as the demon of Luxuria; the missing limbs of the left side of his body suggest castration (on the interpretation of the demon without a part, especially the headless demon, as a symbol of castration, see Eitrem, S., *Beiträge zur griechischen Religionsgeschichte*, II, pp. 47 ff.). They are replaced by two crab's claws, set beside the prominent genitals (the only sexual indications in the four demons), and seizing the sinners in bed. The attachment of aggressive animal parts to a demonic human figure at points other than the extremities is unusual at this time, though common in late Romanesque and Gothic art; for Spanish examples, cf. the miniatures in the manuscripts of the *Cantigas de Sta. Maria* by Alfonso el Sabio in the Escorial library, and for France, cf. Didron, *Christian Iconography*, London, 1886, II, pp. 118 ff. In these works, beast heads grow out of the knees of the devil and a threatening head is attached to the belly. (For such types, see also Deonna, W., in *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 1914, LXIX, p. 197, and LXX, pp. 126 ff.) The Gothic devil is perhaps ultimately derived from syncretistic images of the Egyptian god, Bes (cf. Hopfner, *op. cit.*, I, fig. 21, p. 214, amulet in Leyden), whose cult spread over the western Mediterranean (Roscher, *Lexikon*, 2, col. 2894/5). The crab's claws, however, seem to be very rare. I have not found another example in medieval art. The crab has a demonic sense in classic literature; a crab-demon Karkinar, subject to Beelzebub, is invoked in lecanomancy,

oriental systems.⁴⁹ Especially in forming their conceptions of beings intermediate between God and man and in picturing the regions of heaven and hell, Christians had to draw upon foreign and esoteric cosmologies more elaborate than the official pagan and Jewish beliefs. A Christian who wanted to trace in detail an itinerary for the soul moving from and towards a divine center, turned to non-Christian speculations which had already constructed or explored the same ground, and fused them with dualistic systems accounting for good and evil. In the second place, gnostic ideas were directly available to orthodox Christians in résumés in the anti-gnostic and anti-Manichean writings of the church fathers; these provided elements which could be revived from time to time for new cosmological fancies⁵⁰ or as heretical alternatives to the established beliefs, alternatives more favorable to the aspirations of a sect. And, since Manicheism was influenced by gnostic systems, the Manichean revivals in the eleventh and twelfth century gave a new life to certain gnostic conceptions,⁵¹ although the Christian context of the new heresies limited the use of the older

and seems to be a decan-demon important in astrology. The crab is also exorcised as a demon of sickness (Boll, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, XII, 1909, pp. 149 ff.; Hopfner, *op. cit.*, II, 1924, pp. 131, 132). In his Apology, in defending himself against the charge that he has practised magic, Apuleius mentions the crab's claws, "cancrorum furcas," as instruments of magic (*Apologia*, cap. 35; see also Abt, *Die Apologie des Apuleius von Madara und die antike Zauberei*, Giessen, 1908, p. 146). In modern folklore, the crab is often regarded as a demon or the devil himself and as a bringer of bad luck (*Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, V, 1932/3, pp. 447, 454; Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk-literature*, IV, 1934, p. 157). Cf. also P. Sébillot, *Le Folk-lore de France*, III, 1906, p. 358, for the belief that he is the devil because of his gripping claws, and p. 355, for the Breton saying: "Dieu a fait le homard et le diable le crabe." The pinching claws of the crab have also made him a symbol of avarice in folk speech ("die Krebse kneipen"—*Handwörterbuch*, V, p. 447). A Romanesque writer, Petrus Cantor, in comparing the usurer to the serpent and crab, mentions quite other characteristics: "cum itaque summe accrescit aliquid ex dilatione temporis, vel cum poenae adjicitur supra culpam, usura committitur, quae serpenti et cancro comparatur, quia serpit, et paulatim crescit, ut totum corpus occupet" (*Contra feneratores*, Migne, *Pat. lat.*, CCV, col. 157). In other Romanesque commentaries on the crab as an example of avarice and covetousness (cf. Hugo of St. Victor, *ibid.*, CLXXVII, 109, 110, and Werner, abbot of St. Blasien, *ibid.*, CLVII, 894), the story told of his guile in penetrating the oyster's shell (from the *Physiologus* via Isidore of Seville, *ibid.*, LXXXII, 457) has an apparent erotic sense. For a medieval interpretation of the crab as diabolical and as an example of both avarice and sexual perversity, see Berchorius, Petrus, *Reductorii Moralis*, lib. ix, cap. 16 (*Opera*, Antwerp, 1609, III, p. 262). Relevant to the claws as tormenting instruments is a drawing in the manuscript of Halitgarius from Moissac, already cited (Fig. 13). The personification of Unchastity is threatened by a monstrous demon with two human arms, a beast head and a squamous single lower limb ending in another beast head; this demon manipulates a pair of pincers with which he catches the foot of Luxuria. Such a figure, incidentally, may be a forerunner of the later Frau Welt.

It should be mentioned finally, with reference to the punishment by heat and water in the inscription of the miniature in Silos (see below, p. 337), that the crab's claws are an attribute of water gods, i.e., demons, in Early Christian and medieval art; as such they appear on the heads of personifications of the Jordan in the Baptism (mosaic in the Arian baptistery, Ravenna; Benedictinal

of St. Ethelwold, etc.). Are the crab's claws in Silos a reinterpreted vestige of a water demon, the infernal counterpart of the personified rivers of Paradise? For an example of the latter with hornlike claws on the head, cf. the sculptured Geon on an epitaph of the late tenth century in the museum of Auxerre. The rivers of Paradise were equated very early with the four virtues (Gothein, *op. cit.*, p. 441, and Schlee, E., *Die Ikonographie der Paradiesesflüsse*, Leipzig 1937, pp. 30 ff.). In the alternation of heat and cold (that is, fire and water), the cold water is appropriate to the heat of passion, and the fire to the cold of avarice (on the patristic reference to vice as "frigor" see below, note 66). The crab is often a symbol and prophet of rain and water in folk-lore (*Handwörterbuch*, V, p. 449). This aspect of the crab-demon Aqimos recalls the old Far-Eastern and African traditions of the one-legged, one-armed demon as a rain and moon god, cited above; in classical astrology, the crab is the "house" of Selene, and presides over the ocean. Since Cancer in medieval astrology is a feminine sign, which pertains to water and to variability of weather, being cold in its entirety, but hot when in the North and wet in the South (cf. Abraham ibn Ezra, *The Beginning of Wisdom*, ed. Raphael Levy and F. Cantera, Baltimore, 1939, p. 165, for a twelfth century Hebrew Toledan text), astrological considerations may have played a part in the conception of the demon with crab's claws who punishes Unchastity and whose victims pass from cold to heat.

All these facts and resemblances do not enable us to interpret Aqimos satisfactorily, but I have included them for readers who may wish to study this enigmatic demon further.

49. For an exposition of gnosticism,—which is not one system, but a highly varied, eclectic and syncretistic group of systems—see Leisegang, Hans, *Die Gnosis*, 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1936.

50. As in the writings of Hildegard of Bingen (see Leisegang, *op. cit.*, pp. 21 ff.). Liebeschütz has indicated also Manichean elements in her cosmology, although she herself was opposed to the neo-Manichean heresies (*Das allegorische Weltbild der heiligen Hildegard von Bingen*, in *Studien der Bibliothek Warburg*, Bd. 16, Leipzig 1930, pp. 68 ff.).

51. The whole question of the mode of transmission of presumably Manichean and gnostic ideas to the heretical movements and to visionary literature of the Middle Ages is very obscure; the articles cited must be read with caution. Cf. Alphandéry, *Traces de manichéisme dans le moyen-âge latin*, in *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuse*, 1929, pp. 451-467; Aničkov, E., *Les survivances manichéennes en pays slave et en occident*, in *Revue des Etudes Slaves*, VIII, 1928, pp. 202-225; Grondijs, L. H.,

Manichean terminology. Finally, gnosticism survived as an endless catalogue of magic names and formulas, interesting to individual practitioners of occult arts and to more orthodox connoisseurs of the diabolical.⁵² Already in the Early Christian period, popular magic had become thoroughly impregnated with gnostic terms;⁵³ their recurrence in the Middle Ages would therefore not be a sign of gnostic tradition or cult. In Silos it is not the metaphysical or theological gnostic elements which appear, but the purely demonic, those which had been absorbed in popular magic. The conception of the whole image has its closest analogues in Roman amulets against the evil eye or some enemy, in which various beasts, including serpent, toad, scorpion, and crab, are grouped in a circle around a central object in order to attack it.⁵⁴ The isolation of four demons is typical of late antique and medieval magic;⁵⁵ and the very naming of the figures, so rare in Romanesque art, which knows only Satan and Beelzebub and a horde of anonymous devils, belongs also to magic.⁵⁶ These potent, abracadabrous, "barbara onomata" are usually Hebraic in sound, like so many of the formulas in exorcisms of the time.⁵⁷ The conception of the demons with their open mouths and bared teeth, as running loose, as unbound, as piercing or threatening the victims with pointed instruments, in contrast to the demons "bound, sealed, hobbled, silenced" in exorcisms for the individual's protection,⁵⁸ all this is related to the techniques of counter-magic and the "defixiones"⁵⁹ of the late Empire which survived into the Middle Ages. The artist by his drawing invokes and unlooses the devils against the sinners. The monstrous body of Aqimos, a kind of half-man, is also known to European folk-lore as

De iconographie van den Dubbelen Logos, II, in *Mededeelingen der koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde, deel 80, serie B*, Amsterdam pp. 183-257. For an exposition of the neo-Manichean or Catharist doctrines and their gnostic elements, see Guiraud, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 35-77.

52. For gnostic survivals in medieval formulas of exorcism, see Pradel, *Griechische und süditalienische Gebete, Beschwörungen und Rezepte des Mittelalters (Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten, Bd. 3, Heft 3)*, Giessen, 1907, p. 384 and *passim*.

53. See R. Wünsch, *Sethianische Verfluchungstafeln aus Rom*, Leipzig 1898, pp. 74 ff.

54. Cf. Cagnat and Chapot, *Manuel d'archéologie romaine*, II, 1920, pp. 197 ff. and figs. 449-452. A mosaic example is reproduced by Cumont, F., *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*, 4e éd., 1929, pl. XV, 1.

55. Cf. the invocation of Partenion, Caristellum, Bumbastes and Artemisia in an eleventh century magical text from Maria Laach in Bonn (Heim, R., *Incantamenta magica graeca latina*, Leipzig 1892, p. 554). The tradition of four demons in Hell, like the four archangels in Heaven, is common to old Oriental, Jewish, Christian, and Moslem belief; cf. Daniel, vii, 2-7; the Apocalypses of Enoch and Moses, the Sybilline oracles, etc.; Perdrizet, P., *L'archange Ouriel*, in *Recueil d'Etudes, Seminarium Kondakovianum*, Prague, II, 1928, pp. 241-276; Winkler, H. A., *Siegel und Charaktere in der muhammedanischen Zauberei*, in *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des islamischen Orients*, Heft VII, 1930, p. 97; the Latin *Visio Sancti Pauli*—"et vidi . . . currentes cum festinatione quatuor angeli maligni et demiserunt eum in flumine igneo"—James, M. R., *op. cit.*, p. 30, and Silverstein, T., *op. cit.*, p. 121, n. 57, on the patristic tradition of four fires in Hell, specific for four vices. The quatrefoil form of Hell in the miniature from Silos corresponds to the quatrefoil Heaven in a drawing of Abraham with the souls of the blessed in Vatican Regina lat. 12 (f. 72), an English manuscript of the eleventh century. Here the inscription reads: "locus refrigerii qui est sinus Abrahe."

56. On the power of the name in magical invocations, see Montgomery, J. A., *Aramic Incantation texts from Nippur*, University of Pennsylvania, The Museum, Publications of the Babylonian section Philadelphia, III, 1913, pp. 57 ff. with bibliography; Hopfner, *op. cit.*, II, 1924, *passim*; Origen, *Contra Celsum*, I, 24 ff., V, 45 ff. for a classic statement; and note 46 above. In the miniature of Silos, observe the formal similarity of the four names, Barrabas, Radamas, etc.; they are all three-syllabled and satisfy the rhythmic requirements of incantation. On this aspect of magical language, see Doutté, E., *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Alger, 1909, pp. 104 ff.

57. Cf. the text of Jerome (Epist. LXXV) cited in note 46 above; Montgomery, *op. cit.*, pp. 81, 82; Hopfner, *op. cit.*, I, 1921, pp. 58, 59, §249; Audollent, A., *Defixionum Tabellae*, Paris 1904, pp. xlvii, lxiii, lxv; Heim, R., *op. cit.*, p. 559, for a twelfth century example in a magic formula ("Abarabarbarica borboncabradubrarasaba"). In his *Miracle de Theophile*, Rutebeuf has the sorcerer, Salatin, call the devil thus: "Bagabi laca bachabé Lamac cabri achababé." Such words are not merely intended as names of demons, but as general sounds of magic invocation which suggest through their very unintelligibility the intercourse with occult regions. Towards 1100 such pseudo-Hebraic babbling was already assimilated, perhaps in conscious parody, to the sub-verbal sounds of mutism. In a poem by William of Aquitaine, the hero, who pretends to be dumb, says: "Babariol, Babarian, Babarian" (in another version, "Tarrababart, Marrababelio riben, Saramahart")—Jeanroy, A., *Les chansons de Guillaume IX Duc d'Aquitaine*, Paris, 1927, pp. 10, 35.

58. See Montgomery, *op. cit.*, pp. 42, 43, 54, 56, 85. On the pointed instruments in magic, see article *Defixio* by Kuhnert, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyklopädie*. The inscription in the miniature, with the repeated "transibunt" (see below p. 337), resembles the magical formulae which call upon an evil spirit or enemy to pass from one element to another; cf. Gollancz, H., *The Book of Protection, being a collection of charms*, London, 1912, p. xxxiii.

59. See Audollent, *op. cit.*

a voracious ogre,⁶⁰ and the crab's claws are a demonic symbol important in popular superstition.⁶¹ That we are dealing here not simply with an image issuing directly from the illustration of Latin theological texts, but with a monastic work affected by a less institutionalized popular culture is evident from the vernacular inscription *peso* beside the scales of Michael.⁶² The character of the whole set of inscriptions on this page, their fractioned and scattered all-over form, reminds us forcibly of folk-art.⁶³

Nevertheless it would be incorrect to describe the painting as a work of folk-art in distinction from more cultivated church art. It is, in fact, characteristic of Romanesque art that it introduces into the decoration and imagery of the church fresh elements of popular fantasy, everyday observation and naive piety, beside and even within the doctrinal themes elaborated by centuries of theological meditation. In the present case, the popular elements are so strange and esoteric that their lay aspect is easily overlooked. But they are wonderfully appropriate to the monstrosity and violence of the theologically orthodox infernal subject; the terror of Hell and demons attracts to the closed religious eschatology the corresponding images of folk-lore and magic. The latter are readily applied to a non-magical content closely related in its supernaturalism and violence to the levels of folk superstition. And since the most developed Romanesque art still employs archaic methods of representation, it can absorb folk-material without losing the latter's directness of form. In treating a theme for the first time, the skilled Romanesque artist often invents ideographs and affective distortions like those of far more primitive artists and children.

In considering primitive formal details of this painting of Silos, like the scattered inscriptions, we must distinguish between the spontaneous domestic archaism of the unskilled, which does not know the rigorous order of book script, and the expressive adjustments made in a firmly crystallized, long-practiced archaic style by artists freshly responsive to a new theme. In two respects the inscriptions belong to the highly traditional Mozarabic art. They are written in the pre-Romanesque, so-called Visigothic, script, employed in Mozarabic books. In the second place, the very profuseness of the labels—even the scales are accompanied by an inscription—which supports the cartographic effect, recalls the Mozarabic miniatures in the same manuscript; there detailed inscriptions accompany the figures and objects like crowns and instruments are labelled (Fig. 16).⁶⁴ These inscriptions are not functional elements or active extensions of the character of the figures, like the speaking scrolls of later Romanesque art which even when empty suggest a verbal activity or prophetic nature in gesticulating persons; they merely identify the object. The objects in turn become the heraldic, pictorial equivalents of words. Yet the painter's freedom in disposing these written elements is already far removed from the severe stylizations of Mozarabic art; the words are freshly strewn, and the scattering of the inscriptions, coherent with the larger rotating form, helps to dynamize the painting as an image of action. The primitive, naively realistic, aspect of the writing in the miniature is thus in harmony with the most advanced qualities of drawing and design.

Similar considerations apply to the literary content of the main inscription: A CALORE

60. See above, note 48.

61. *Ibid.*

62. There are also vernacular or vulgar Latin details in the longer inscriptions: e.g., *ad calore* and *ab aqas* (for *aquas*). On this characteristic confusion of the ablative and the accusative and on the dropping of final *m* in the vulgar Latin of Spain, see Carnoy, A., *Le latin d'Espagne d'après les inscriptions*, 2nd ed., Brussels, 1906, pp. 199 ff., 267 ff.

See also note 70 below.

63. It should be observed also that the circular arrangement of the letters has a magical function in amulets, papyri, etc. Cf. the inscribed magic bowls reproduced by Pognon, H., *Inscriptions mandaites des coupes de Khouabir*, Paris, 1898, 1899.

64. The word *coronas* is written out above the elders' heads, each letter corresponding to a single crown.

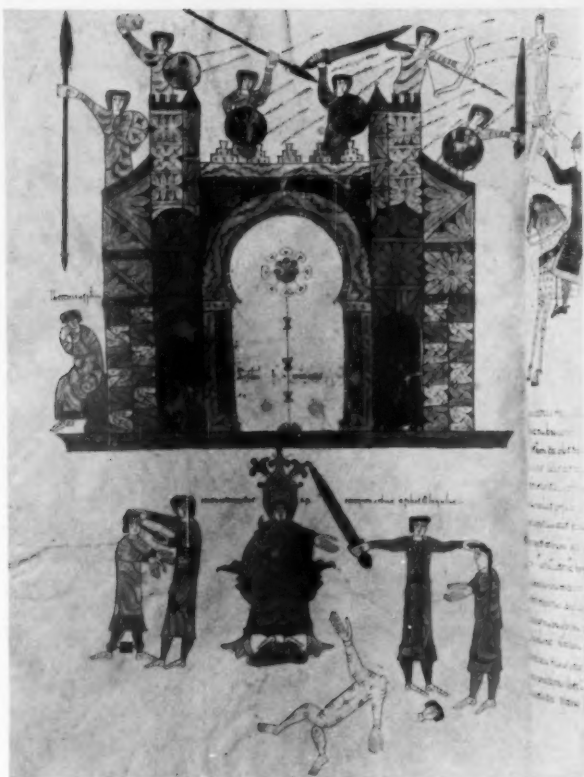


FIG. 11—London, British Museum: *Defense of Jerusalem, Nebuchadnezzar*; Add. MS. 11695, f. 222 v



FIG. 12—Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale: *Halitgar, Treatise on the Eight Vices*, from Moissac; Lat. 2077, f. 163



FIG. 13—Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale: Lat. 2077, f. 173

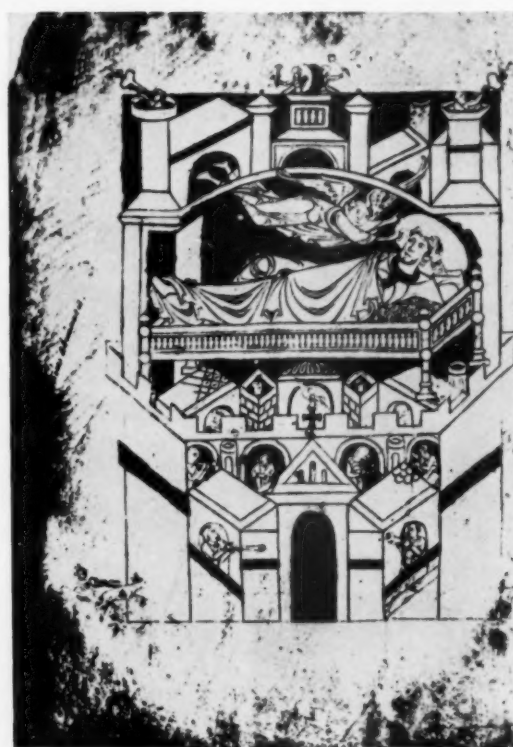


FIG. 14—Avranches, Bibliothèque Municipale: *Cartulary of Mont-St.-Michel*



FIG. 15—London, Victoria and Albert Museum: *Adoration of the Magi*, Ivory Carving

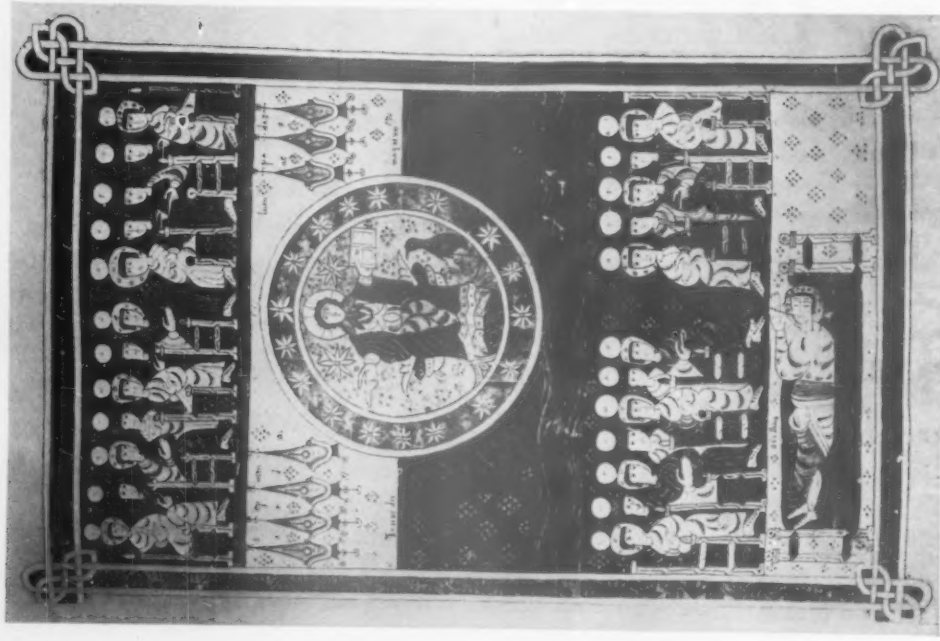


FIG. 16—London, British Museum: *The Twenty-four Elders: Add. MS. 11695, f. 83*

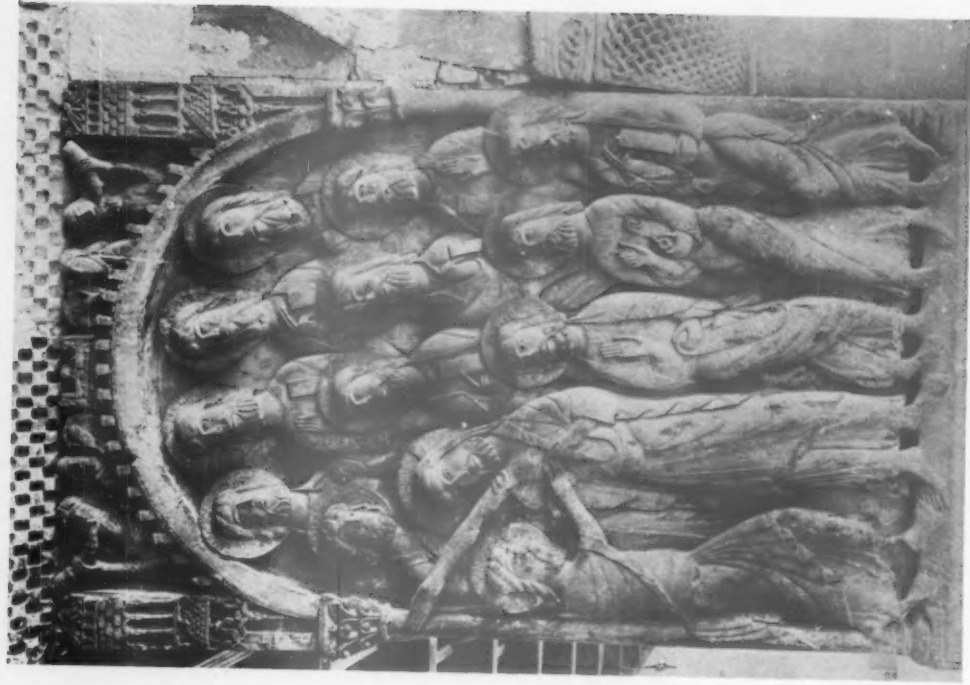


FIG. 17—Silos: *Cloister; The Doubting Thomas, Relief of Northwest Pier*

NIMIO TRANSIBUNT AD AQUAS NIVIUM, ET AB AQAS NIVIUM TRANSIBUNT AD CALORE NIMIUM. "They will pass from great heat to snow waters, and from snow waters they will pass to great heat." The revolving inscription has then a corresponding movement in its sense; it refers to the cyclical alternation of heat and cold in the torment of the damned, a traditional theme in literary visions of Hell. These apparently formalized lines do not appear in the text of the Beatus commentary.⁶⁵ They are an independent reworking of the Vulgate mistranslation of the text of Job, "ad nimium calorem transeat ab aquis nivium et usque ad inferos peccatum illius" (xxiv, 19). Whereas the Hebrew original simply speaks of the drought and the heat which carry off the snow waters, as the grave carries off those who have sinned, the Vulgate has a dogmatic eschatological meaning: the sinner will pass from snow waters to great heat, even to Hell.⁶⁶ This passage of

65. See the Index of Sanders' edition of Beatus. But the Vulgate original (Job xxiv, 19) was read in the Mozarabic liturgy of Silos during Easter week, when the Apocalypse was an important lection. See the *Liber Comicus* (ed. Morin, 1893, p. 143) of Silos—Paris, Bibl. Nat., nouv. acq. lat. 2171, a manuscript given to the abbey in 1067.

66. The reference to heat and cold in Job xxiv, 19, had, however, a moral sense to some medieval commentators, following Gregory the Great, vice being a frigidity of the soul—"idcirco iniquitas frigori comparatur, quia peccantis mentem torpore constringit" (*Moralia in Job*, Migne, Pat. lat., LXXV, 1160). But Jerome in his commentary on Job had already given the heat and cold a completely eschatological meaning—"quasi duas gehennas sanctus Job dicere mihi videtur, ignis et frigoris, per quas diabolus, hereticus, et homo impius commutetur . . ." (*ibid.*, XXVI, 685). This interpretation was apparently influenced by pre-Christian conceptions of punishment (cf. Enoch, xiv, 13, 14; c. 9-13). The torment by heat and cold is known in medieval Jewish literature (see Landau, M., *Hölle und Fegfeuer in Volksglaube, Dichtung und Kirchenlehre*, Heidelberg, 1909, p. 160 and Ginzberg, L., *Legends of the Jews*, V, p. 418), in Buddhism (see Becker, E. J., *Medieval Visions of Heaven and Hell*, Baltimore, 1899, p. 10) and in late classic works (Dieterich, A., *Nekyia*, p. 202). In gnostic writings, the sinful soul or the murderer is described as passing from a region of cold and snow to a region of fire (*Pistis Sophia*, translated by Horner, G., pp. 162, 196; Schmidt, Carl, *Gnostische Schriften in koptischen Sprache aus dem Codex Brucianus*, Leipzig, 1892, pp. 411, 412). In the *Visio sancti Pauli*, a work of the fourth century A.D., there are not only two regions, one of heat and one of cold, in Hell, and two rivers, one fiery, the other cold (cf. the classic Pyriphlegethon and Kokytos, which were described as hot and cold streams—see Roscher, *Lexikon*, s. v. Kokytos), but the despoilers of widows and orphans are subject simultaneously to both heat and cold, "et ignis urebat unam partem, altera frigescibat" (Silverstein, T., *op. cit.*, pp. 53, 154). The specific alternation of heat and cold, the perpetual motion prescribed in Silos, seems to be a later conception. Bede, who paraphrases the passage of Jerome in his commentary on Luke xiii, 128, describes just such a movement in his account of the vision of purgatory by the monk Dricthelm, "unum latus flammis ferventibus nimium trichile, alterum furenti grandine ac frigore nivium . . . non minus intolerabile" (*Historia ecclesiastica*, lib. V, cap. 12, ed. Plummer, I, p. 305). When the souls could no longer stand the heat, they jumped into the cold; and finding no comfort there, they jumped back into the flames, precisely as in the inscription of Silos. This vision of Dricthelm was often copied separately in the Middle Ages (Plummer, II, 295), and was available to the monks of Silos; Paris, Bibl. nat. nouv. acq. lat. 235, an eleventh century manuscript from Silos in Visigothic script, includes

a *Beati Dricthelmi monaci vita* on ff. 207-214 (see Delisle, *Mélanges de paléographie et de bibliographie*, Paris 1880, p. 74). The alternation of heat and cold is common in visions of the lower world since the eighth century (see Becker, *op. cit.*, p. 58 ff.; St. John D. Seymour, *Irish Visions of the Otherworld*, London, 1930, pp. 87, 126, 130; Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus Miraculorum*, XII, 23, in *Broadway Mediaeval Translations*, II, p. 311; the politically tendentious vision of the priest Bernold who saw forty-one bishops "per vices nimio frigore horribiliter cum fletu et stridore dentium tremulantes, et per vices calore nimio aestuantes"—Migne, Pat. lat., CXXV, 1115 ff.—a vision admittedly based on older writings, including Bede's). However, the illustration of this torment is very rare in medieval art; besides the miniature of Silos I know only a marginal drawing in an English eleventh century manuscript in the Vatican, Reg. lat. 12, f. 71 v. It is a scene of purgatory, and shows one nude figure in the flames and two in water; one holds a chest labelled *opera iustitiae*; still another nude soul is being taken up by the Lord (?). The drawing illustrates psalm 65, lines 9 to 12: "transivimus per ignem et aquam et eduxisti nos in refrigerium." The drawings in this manuscript are of extraordinary importance for both medieval art and literature.

The dual and polar character of this punishment has interesting parallels in cosmological schemes. The alternation of heat and cold recalls Oriental conceptions of the movement of the sun through alternating zones or seasons of hot and cold and of the reversal of the seasons—hot winters and cold summers—at the end of the world (Liebeschütz, *op. cit.*, pp. 74, 75, 125); in the visions of Hildegard of Bingen, which show remarkable affinities with such conceptions ("pessimae penae habundant, ita ut ibi in estate frigus in hieme vero ardor . . . existant"—*ibid.*, p. 120, n. 1), the souls in Hell are grouped in diagonally opposed symmetrical zones of fire and water (*ibid.*, pl. VI). In one Oriental cosmogony, apparently Persian, the sun deity first creates fire and snow, the twin matters of punishment in our miniature (see Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, p. 280). This dualism also appears in the Talmudic conception of Michael as the angel of snow and Gabriel, of fire (see Lueken, W., *Michael*, Göttingen, 1898, p. 55); their rôles are reversed in a Christian medieval text published by Pradel (*op. cit.*, p. 20, 309). The action of opposite elements is often invoked in magical incantations, cf. Virgil, *Ecl.* VIII, 79—(limus ut hic ducescit et haec ut cera tabescit), and *Kalevala* V, 301-372 (cited by Lehmann, A., *Aberglaube und Zauberei*, ed. 1925, p. 108—on fire and cold).

For the alternation of heat and cold as a demonic torment there was also a scriptural precedent in Matthew xvii, 15 and Mark ix, 22, in the story of the possessed youth, whose evil spirit "eum in ignem et in aquam misit ut eum perderet" (see note 18 above). The punishment in Hell was perhaps a projection of the experience of fever as well

Job was already quoted in the Latin life of saint Brendan in the description of Judas in Hell tormented by alternating heat and cold,—"et sic verificatum est verbum Iob, quod in suppliciis ibunt ab aquis nivium ad calorem nimium."⁶⁷ There was, in fact, a copy of this life in the library of Silos,⁶⁸ and no doubt the conception of the painting was directly influenced by it.⁶⁹ But in the Spanish miniature, which is remarkably precocious and concrete in its iconography, the simple contrast of Jerome has been transformed into a more explicit sequence of opposed and alternating motions. Thus the nature metaphor of the Hebrew poet, converted into an eschatological doctrine by Jerome, becomes in Silos an incantation of chiasmically repeated words,⁷⁰ like the diagonally symmetrical designs of Romanesque art. Such citation of single Biblical passages is frequent in magical exorcisms⁷¹ and the reversal of a phrase is also a powerful device in magic song and speech.⁷²

The miniature itself is not an illustration of this text; the latter is only an accompanying inscription, like the epigrams or tituli in older art. But few medieval works show so intimate an accord of a text and a pictorial form. The quatrefoil corresponds to the symmetrical fields of fire and snow water, each of which occurs twice in the inscription. The rotating scheme translates the cyclical passage and alternation of the elements;⁷³ the op-

as of a dualistic cosmological scheme of opposed elements. Christianity knew, in fact, a demon of fever; cf. a Byzantine charm cited by Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, p. 19, and see also the charms and amulets against "the hot and cold fevers," and "fever-heat and fever-frost," published by Gollancz, H., *op. cit.*, p. xlii, xliii, and Preisendanz, *Papyri graecae magicae*, II, 1931, pp. 192, 193.

There is a curious transference of the dualism of snow and fire in a vision described by Peter of Compostela (ed. Soto, p. 112—see note 18 above): "Quotiescunque autem frater aliquis mortis debitum ex(s)olvebat, eius animam in ipsa spiritus exalacione nunc quasi frustrum nivis, nunc quasi rotam ignis visibiliter ad celum videbat conscendere."

67. When Brendan's fellow monks encounter a tempest of snow and hail and say "Numquid pena infernalis est maior isto frigore?", Brendan answers: "Audite, fratres, id quod dicam vobis. In navigationibus meis quodam die audivimus in pelago fletum et planctum magnum, ita quod horruit spiritus cuiusque nostrum. Et navigavimus ad locum ei propinquum, scire volentes fendi causam. Et ecce vidimus os maris apertum, et in eo conspeximus petram unam, super quam erat vox illa lugubris et miserabilis. Mare enim undique super petram ascendeat, et ab oriente fluctus igneos, ab occidente vero fluctus glaciales et intolerabilis frigoris emittebat. Et sic verificatum est verbum Iob, quod in suppliciis ibunt ab aquis nivium ad calorem nimium." When questioned, the voice says: "Iudas Scariothis ego sum, proditor Christi, et usque ad diem magni iudicii hic exspecto resurrectionem" (*Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, ed. Ch. Plummer, Oxford, 1910, I, p. 147). On Judas as the symbol of avarice, see note 23 above.

68. It is listed as no. 80 in a thirteenth century catalogue of the library of Silos (see Delisle, *Mélanges*, p. 106). See also note 66 above, on the *Vita Dricthelmi* in Silos. There are other similarities in the art of Silos with insular literature and art; they constitute a complex problem which requires a special study.

69. However, the linking of the two torments with avarice and unchastity is not found in this text and is uncommon in the literature on Hell and Purgatory. But it appears already in a passage of Isidore of Seville, commenting on Matthew xvii: 15 (the story of the possessed youth, cited in notes 18 and 66 above), "ille qui saepe nunc in ignem nunc in aquam cadebat, mundum significat. Ignis autem inflammantem cupiditatem, aqua carnis voluptatem

demonstrat, in quibus semper arreptus quotidiano lapsu praecipitatur" (Migne, *Pat. lat.*, LXXXIII, col. 121).

70. Even the confusion of ablative and accusative in the inscription, which is typical of vulgar Latin (see above, note 62), has a formal value in this incantatory scheme: *ad calore* corresponds to *a calore*, and *ab aqas* to *ad aquas*, like the *nivium* and *nimum*.

71. On the use of a Bible passage in magic and incantation as a powerful sacred text, cf. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, pp. 62, 63; Blau, L., *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen*, Strassburg, 1898, pp. 68, 84; Heim, R., *op. cit.*, p. 520. On the inexactness of such quotations, see Montgomery, *op. cit.*, pp. 63, 64, and Blau, *op. cit.*, p. 110, who considers it intentional. For Job in magical invocations, see Pradel, *op. cit.*, p. 62. The book of Job was of first importance for medieval eschatology; it is used several times in the Apocalypse of Peter, the oldest Christian vision of the afterworld (second century A.D., cf. James, M. R., *The Apocryphal New Testament*, p. 509, n. 1); in the *Visio Sancti Pauli*, Paul meets Job (*ibid.*, p. 552) and converses with him. The commentary of Gregory on Job (the *Moralia*) was one of the chief readings in the monasteries of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, to judge by old catalogues, surviving manuscripts and citations. There was a copy in the library of Silos (see Delisle, *op. cit.*, p. 107, no. 101). When the Augustinian canons of the cathedral of Pamplona made a pact of alliance with the monks of Conques in 1092, Peter d'Andouque, the French bishop of Pamplona, sent to Conques as a token a copy of the *Moralia* on Job (see Saroihandy, in *Homenaje . . . de R. Menéndez Pidal*, II, p. 272).

72. The reversal presumably prevented the counter-magical breaking of the incantation. For examples, see Blau, *op. cit.*, pp. 85, 147; Montgomery, *op. cit.*, p. 63; Wunsch, *op. cit.*, no. 4; Audollent, *op. cit.*, p. xlvi, p. 408. For reversals in modern Spanish incantations and folk magic, see A. de Ll. Roza de Ampudia, *Del Folklore Asturiano, mitos, supersticiones, costumbres*, Madrid, 1922; Ismael del Pan, *Folklore Toledano*, I, 1932, p. 94, 95; and on the region of Burgos, Domingo Herqueta y Martín, *Folklore Burgales*, Burgos 1934 (not available to me firsthand).

73. The rotating pattern was possibly influenced by the wheel of torment so often described in Christian visions of Hell. Cf. a Priscillianist fragment of the eighth or ninth

positions of converging and diverging forms translate the contrasts of heat and cold. Finally, the lambent shapes already cited, the flamelike hair and feet of the demons, the transparent streaks of color, parallel the physical torments of fire and water. But these correspondences remain free and suggestive rather than literal—unlike the static, more systematized, visionary diagrams of a Hildegard of Bingen.⁷⁴

II

The second miniature of Romanesque tendency—the musician and dancer (Fig. 9)—is unmotivated by the adjoining text.⁷⁵ Like the painting of Hell, it is found in none of the earlier Mozarabic copies of the Beatus commentary. It forms no initial and makes no comment on the substance of the manuscript. But it differs from the other textually independent miniatures in that the content here is entirely secular; the others are at least images of angels and saints and are therefore broadly consistent with the text. As a profane, untraditional motif, a free invention of an artist, drawn from the festive experience of everyday life, this painting of the musician and dancer is an early example of the marginal realism which underlies the drôlerie of later Gothic art.

Musicians are common enough in the Beatus manuscripts. In the scenes of the vision of the twenty-four elders, they are reproduced with their guitars. But whereas in the traditional Mozarabic paintings of this book, the musician elders are always tied to their religious context of adoration, in the added miniature the musician and dancer are contemporary jongleurs,⁷⁶ un-religious, secular figures with an accented energy of movement and violence of conception, independent of a supernatural motive.

In this secularized sense, they recall the frequent musicians and acrobats on Romanesque portals⁷⁷ and in liturgical manuscripts of the eleventh and twelfth centuries in

century: "angelo tartaruchio cum virgis ferreis precutientis rotam volvitur in gyru et flumine tres" (de Bruyne, *Revue bénédictine*, XXIV, 1907, pp. 323, 324); and the *Visio Sancti Pauli*: "locus inferni . . . in quo est rota ignea habens mille orbitas, . . . mille vicibus in uno die ab angelo tartareo percussa et in unaquaque vice mille anime cruciantur" (from a later text published by Meyer, P., *Romania*, XXIV, 1895, p. 366). See also Silverstein, *op. cit.*, pp. 76, 77 and notes 62–80, pp. 122, 123, on this theme.

However, the particular wheel form of the composition and action in Silos is more than iconographic and presupposes stylistic norms of the Romanesque period. The importance of the wheel in Villard d'Honnecourt's album suggests that it would be worth inquiring into the relation of dynamic wheel schematisms in medieval art to the technology of the later Middle Ages.

Cumont has shown that the Manichaean and Babylonian conception of a cosmic wheel with twelve pots for drawing souls to heaven ("quae per hanc spheram vertitur hauriens animas morientium") was derived from the similar mechanism of the great wheels on the Euphrates and Tigris which raised water for irrigation (see Cumont, *La roue à puiser les âmes*, in *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, LXXII, 1915, pp. 384–388.)

74. See Liebeschütz, *op. cit.*, pl. VI. The damned are in four fields, two of flame, two of water, arranged a, b, above, and b, a, below, i.e., chiasmically. Further, the punishment by heat takes place in the winter, by cold, in the summer. It is interesting that Hildegard in paraphrasing the passage Job xxiv, 19 in her account of the Last Judgment, preserves its traditional sense as a nature metaphor: "Sicque iudicio finito . . . omne quod caducum et transitor-

ium est dilabitur, nec amplius apparebit, velut nix esse desinit quae a calore solis liquescit" (Migne, *Pat. lat.* CXCVII, col. 728).

75. It is painted in the blank space at the lower right of f. 86 after the *Storia quattuor animalia* (Beatus lib. III, on Rev. iv: 6), by the same hand as the figure of John on f. 82v, and is undoubtedly before 1109.

76. For a jongleur with a knife, cf. the texts cited by R. Menendez Pidal, *Poesía juglaresca y juglares*, Madrid, 1924, p. 30, especially the description in the *Gran Conquista de Ultramar* "andaban juglares con muchas maneras de instrumentos de alegrías: los unos cantaban e los otros esgremían con cuchillos e con espadas." There is an initial with a musician and a knife juggler in the Cîteaux manuscript of the *Moralia in Job*, dated 1111, Dijon MS. 168–170 (Oursel, *La Miniature à Cîteaux*, pl. XXVI). The bird in the miniature of Silos may have been suggested by actual association or by the trick of jongleurs of imitating the song of birds, "volucrum exprimere cantilenas" (Pidal, *op. cit.*, pp. 32, n. 3 and 51, n. 1). But the bird and figure are also a typical Romanesque drôlerie in the ornament of manuscripts and architecture during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Examples occur in a Limoges troper, Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 1121 (Gautier, L., *Histoire de la poésie liturgique, Les tropes*, Paris, 1886, p. 113), in a South French grammatical treatise in the Laurentian library (MS. 90 Sup. 13 I, f. 84), on capitals in Moissac, Talmont (Charente-Inférieure), Vertheuil (Brutails, *Les églises romanes de la Gironde*, fig. 269), and in the cloister of Silos (P. J. Pérez de Urbel, *El claustro de Silos*, p. 83), etc.

77. Musicians appear on the portals of Morlaas (Porter, *op. cit.*, ill. 461), Varaize (*ibid.*, 1001), Bordeaux (*ibid.*,

southern France. Images of dancing and playing figures accompany the music and liturgical verse in the tropers and other service books (Fig. 18).⁷⁸ Sometimes in French sculptures, especially on the enframing archivolt, the crowned apocalyptic elders are abstracted from their text, multiplied beyond their canonical number and set among acrobats and grotesques⁷⁹—an expression of a secular kinship of music with physical entertainment, courtliness, and power.⁸⁰

This typically Romanesque conversion of the elders is suggested also in the cloister of Silos. On the one historiated capital (Fig. 19) of the early galleries are carved the apocalyptic musician-elders with their instruments and phials.⁸¹ Nothing in their disposition refers to a specific religious moment. They are not the adoring canonical elders, around the Lamb or Christ, but are shown independently, aligned in order, some with legs crossed. They are so remote from any religious allusion that Bertaux could mistake them for figures of a Moorish harem, musicians and slaves with jars of perfume.⁸²

Now it is interesting to observe, with reference to the relations of Mozarabic and Romanesque art in Silos, that the elders of the cloister are iconographically independent of the Beatus manuscript. In the Beatus of Silos (Fig. 16), as in the other Mozarabic copies, the elders are beardless;⁸³ in the cloister, as in French Romanesque sculpture,⁸⁴

920), Aulnay (*ibid.*, 979), Parthenay (*ibid.*, 1048), Oloron, etc. In Soria and Santiago, in Spain, they are placed radially on the voussoirs as in southern France. For the association of dancers and acrobats with musicians, cf. the portal of Foussais (Porter, *ill.* 1062) and an apse lunette of St. Vivien, Gironde (*ibid.*, *ill.* 1086), and with musician-elders, cf. a capital from St. Georges-de-Boscher-ville in the Musée des Antiquités in Rouen. For the frequency of such figures in the region of Saintonge, see Dangibeaud, in *Bulletin archéologique*, 1910, pp. 56, 57.

78. There are examples in Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 796 (Montieramey), lat. 1118 (Limoges) and (Fig. 18) in London, British Museum, Harley 4951 (Toulouse). See Gautier, L., *op. cit.*, *passim*, for other reproductions, and the detailed article by Gougaud, L., *La danse dans les églises*, in *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, XV, 1914, pp. 5-22, 229-245, especially p. 242 on Spain. Although the people and even the clergy often danced in the churches, the church authority, according to Gougaud, never favored or encouraged the introduction of the dance into the churches (p. 7). Significant for this secular aspect of religious art are the opening verses of the vernacular *Song of Sainte Foy*, composed in Languedoc in the eleventh century. I quote from the translation by P. Alfarc and E. Hoepffner:

J'ouïs un chant qui est beau en danse
Qui était sur un sujet espagnol.
Tout le pays basque et l'Aragon
Et la contrée des Gascons
Savent quel est ce chant
Et si bien vrai en est le sujet.

(*La Chanson de Sainte Foy*, Paris, 1926—*Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg*, Fasc. 32, 33, vol. II, pp. 83, 85).

79. See note 77. In a sense this is also the context of the jongleurs in the miniature of Silos, since they are painted beside Rev. iv: 6 ff. which deals with the twenty-four elders and the four beasts.

80. See Faral, E., *Les jongleurs en France*, Paris, 1910, pp. 93 ff. The association appears constantly in Romanesque iconography. On the façade of Civray, for example, the following subjects are juxtaposed: Samson and the lion, Samson and Delilah, David harping and Saul; twelve elders, sixteen musician angels, the wise and foolish virgins,

etc. On the later portal of the refectory of Pamplona cathedral there are carved fighting men and beasts, Samson and the lion, and figures of musicians. Similarly in the Bible of Stephen Harding in Dijon, David and the musicians are shown enclosed by battlements and fighting soldiers. Cf. also a Romanesque miniature in a breviary from Montieramey, Bibl. nat. lat. 796, fol. 235, in which an acrobat, a dancer, musicians, hornblowers, etc., accompany Christ in majesty, set under an elaborate domed structure (Leroquais, *Les brevaires manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 1934, *Planches*, pl. X).

The musical instrument has also the value of a completely personal object, especially for the cultivated members of the lower classes, and is the symbol of the free, spontaneous soul in both secular life (the vagrant jongleur and student) and religion (the heretical monk). Cf. the beautiful sentence of Joachim of Flora (in Apoc. 183 a2) placed by Paul Sabatier on the title page of his *Vie de S. François d'Assise*: "Qui vere monachus est nihil reputat esse suum nisi citharam."

81. Porter, *op. cit.*, *ill.* 668. It is possible that the choice of this subject was influenced by the liturgy and related to the themes from the Passion and Resurrection of Christ on the piers. A poetic version of Rev. iv, v, which describes the elders, was sung in the Mozarabic church on the first Sabbath after Easter (Migne, *Pat. lat.*, LXXXVI, col. 637, 638).

The only other early capital with complete human figures shows a grotesque combat of confronted naked men wielding axes and seated backwards on monstrous adossed animals. Similar groups appear in the initials of the contemporary Bible of Limoges (Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 8) and on capitals in Vertheuil in the Gironde (see note 76) and in Cunault in the Loire country (see *Bulletin monumental*, 1935, p. 76, fig. 4). The theme of the individual naked figure seated backwards on an animal probably is derived from classic art. Cf. the fifth century coins of Mendé and a dish in the Hermitage from Perm of late classic style (Smirnow, *Argentierie orientale*, pl. LIX).

82. In *Gazette des beaux-arts*, XCVII, 1906, p. 34.

83. The elders are also beardless in the Carolingian manuscripts of the Apocalypse in Trier, Cambrai, Valenciennes, and Paris.

84. The portals of Moissac, Chartres, etc.

and as in the one Beatus manuscript of the eleventh century executed in southern France,⁸⁵ the elders are bearded.⁸⁶

The jongleurs of the Silos manuscript represent a more advanced stage in this conversion of the text. If they do not illustrate the Apocalypse and are an intrusion in the old cycle of Beatus paintings, they are ultimately inspired by the text. For they are placed in a blank corner at the end of the "story" of the enthroned Christ, the homage of the musician elders and the four beasts, and precede a full page miniature of this vision of the heavenly court. They disengage from its supernatural and ceremonial sense a core of secular life: they dance and play, not for God, but for the people or an earthly court; they belong to the fairs and the world of secular pleasure from which issue the Avarice⁸⁷ and Luxury condemned in the painting of Hell in the same manuscript.

Such secular figures intrude also on the margins of one of the large religious sculptures of the cloister. In the Doubting Thomas (Fig. 17), the enclosing arch is surmounted by battlements and superposed buildings, with four little figures—two men blowing horns, two women clapping on disks or tambours. Such a frame is unique in the entire series of sculptures. In this crenelated architecture, evidently inspired by the *fores clausae* of the Gospel text, the figures have no apparent iconographic relation to the scene below. They may be interpreted as lay figures designed to illustrate the excluded, outer, profane world, in contrast to the apostles to whom Christ revealed himself behind closed doors, especially since the doors of the buildings above are opened wide.⁸⁸ But even as such, their presence indicates a consciousness of a non-religious reality, distinct from the demands of the theme, which is new in the representation of the incident. In Mozarabic and contemporary Catalanian miniatures, figures are sometimes shown above crenelated walls; there, however, they are not part of a frame, but necessary actors in the scene. They are the armies which defend Jerusalem (Fig. 11)⁸⁹ or the inhabitants who denote a specifically represented religious center.⁹⁰

I do not know of a pre-Romanesque Spanish example of such a framework in a purely religious subject. The architectural canopy frame is common enough in Mozarabic and early Catalanian art, but nowhere in these arts is it filled with musicians or corresponding secular figures.⁹¹

85. The manuscript from Saint-Sever, now Bibl. Nat., lat. 8878 (f. 121v, 122)—reproduced by Mâle, *op. cit.*, fig. 2. On one page, f. 199, the elders are beardless, but also without the usual attributes, and in other respects, close to the Mozarabic original. The elders are also bearded in the drawing in Auxerre, attributed by Mâle to the South of France and to the influence of the Mozarabic manuscripts, but probably executed in Tours and entirely independent of Mozarabic art, as I will show elsewhere.

86. Also distinct from the form in the Silos Beatus is the perfume bottle on the capital; it is more like the bottles represented in Aulnay and in the Roda Bible.

87. It is worth recalling here that "saltimbanque" and "banker" have a common etymological origin in the "bank" or bench of the fairs.

88. This opposition of an inner and outer world, considered spiritually and materially, is indicated apropos of the closed doors in a contemporary sermon on the Doubting Thomas by Radulphus Ardens, a South French preacher of the end of the eleventh century—"Congregabantur autem discipuli omnes sero domi simul, et clausis januis propter metum Judaeorum, et de Domino loquebantur, et eum suspirabant. Nos quoque, fratres mei, postquam per diuturnam actionem ad negotia exteriora exierimus, sero

per contemplationem ad nosmetipsos redeamus, et intra nosmetipsos nos colligamus, ut quid corrigendum sit in nobis . . . Debent etiam fores cordis nostri esse clausae propter insidias daemonum . . ." (Migne, *Pat. lat.*, CLV, 1869, 1870).

The spiritual significance of the crenelated, inhabited frame is confirmed by a Romanesque miniature in the Eadwine psalter from Canterbury, illustrating the first psalm. The *impius* is personified by a king (*superbia*) sitting with legs crossed under a crenelated arched structure with heads above the turrets, and flanked by soldiers and a devil; whereas the just man sits under a typically sacral architecture, a trefoil arch without crenelations, and is accompanied by angels. See James, M. R., *The Canterbury Psalter*, 1935, f. 5v.

89. Cf. also J. Puig y Cadafalch, *Le premier art roman*, Paris, 1928, pl. V.

90. As in the image of Toledo in the Codex Aemilianensis, f. 129v, in the Escorial.

91. In the Roda Bible—Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 6, vol. III, f. 97—the crenelated wall with surmounting figures encloses the royal banquet in the Book of Esther (Neuss, *Katalanische Bibelillustration*, 1922, fig. 120) and is therefore an illustration of the text rather than a free marginal

They are common, on the other hand, in French Romanesque art, especially in miniature painting. In the Bible of St. Benigne at Dijon, a manuscript of the early twelfth century, little figures blowing horns are set in the architecture crowning the canon tables.⁹² Another clear instance is the miniature of the vision of St. Aubert in the cartulary of Mont-St.-Michel, now in the library of Avranches (MS. 210) (Fig. 14).⁹³ Nor is the motif limited to manuscripts. It appears also in a North French or English ivory of the late eleventh century in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Fig. 15),⁹⁴ of which the peculiar iconography of the Adoration of the Magi was reproduced almost literally in a Spanish Romanesque sculpture;⁹⁵ and attains a monumental symbolical form in the south porch of Moissac, where two figures blowing horns are carved on the crenelations which surmount the portal.⁹⁶ On several Romanesque capitals in the museum of Toulouse⁹⁷ and on the portal of St.-Pierre-des-Cuisines in the same city, religious scenes are framed by arches and crenelated walls, but lack these figures of watchmen and musicians.

It may be that such a motif could have been conceived independently by the Spanish artist; but a small detail of the same architectural design in Silos suggests that South French models have been copied. I refer to the peculiar inversion of the flat, imbricated scales that cover the roofs and gables of the buildings. This is the typical pattern of such scales in the Romanesque churches of Aquitaine, especially in the regions of Poitou, Perigord, Saintonge, and Angoumois. The conical spires of Notre-Dame-de-Saintes, Perigueux, Civray, and Angoulême are covered in this way. The practice extended from the Loire to the Garonne.⁹⁸

addition. It is in the same *secular* sense that soldiers and musicians are shown above the battlements in Romanesque miniatures of the enthroned David and Solomon in the Dijon Bible of Stephen Harding, in a German Bible of 1148 in the British Museum (Harley 2804, f. 33), etc. They are like the figures blowing horns in the scene of David dancing before the Ark of Covenant in the relief on the portal of Ripoll (Neuss, *ibid.*, fig. 25). Cf. also the late Romanesque relief in Silos representing Domingo rescuing Christian prisoners from the Moors, for figures in the towers (Porter, *Spanish Romanesque Sculpture*, II, pl. 97).

Porter, *op. cit.*, I, p. 45, mistakenly identified the inhabited secular frame in Silos with the more general type of architectural canopy frame. The same error is repeated by Gómez-Moreno (*El arte románico*, p. 167) who identifies the frame of the relief with the considerably later architectural frame of the enamel frontal in Silos, which has indeed crenelations, but no figures, and corresponds to the canopies over isolated figures in Romanesque art of the middle and second half of the twelfth century.

92. See *Trésors des bibliothèques de France*, I, 1926, pl. opp. p. 136. The same motif appears in the Bible of Souvigny in Moulins, a Burgundian work of the later twelfth century.

A possible anticipation of the Romanesque type are the sculptured cross fragments at Hoddam and Heysham, attributed to the ninth century (Collingwood, W. G., *Northumbrian Crosses of the Pre-Norman Age*, 1927, figs. 88, 89); but it is not clear whether the figures in the enframement are secular or religious and illustrate an incident in the life of the main personage.

93. See Boinet, *L'illustration du cartulaire du Mont-Saint-Michel*, in the *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, LXX, 1909, pp. 335-343, fig. 1. Cf. also a drawing of the Annunciation in Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 1654, from St.-Maur-des-Fossés.

94. Goldschmidt, *Elfenbeinskulpturen*, IV, pl. IV, no. 14;

Hauttmann, *Die Kunst des frühen Mittelalters*, p. 336.

95. In Sta. Maria in Uncastillo (Zaragoza)—see Porter, *Spanish Romanesque Sculpture*, 1928, II, pl. 154. This remarkable iconographic similarity was pointed out to me by Miss Helen Franc of the staff of the Morgan Library. It is perhaps relevant to the problem of diffusion that Uncastillo belonged to a French seigneur (see Boissonnade, *Du nouveau sur la chanson de Roland*, 1923, p. 60).

96. See in *THE ART BULLETIN*, XIII, 1931, p. 528, fig. 140. A figure blowing a horn is also represented on the city walls on the capital of the Martyrdom of Lawrence in the cloister. Cf. also a capital from Moutier-St.-Jean in the Fogg Museum in Cambridge, with a figure on top of the city blowing a horn in the scene of Christ and the Pilgrims. On the other hand, the figures blowing horns on the south transept portal of Santiago are angels of the Last Judgment.

97. Porter, *op. cit.*, 1923, ill. 469 (Doubting Thomas), 471 (Last Supper).

98. Cf. Lasteyrie, R. de, *L'architecture religieuse en France à l'époque romane*, second ed., 1929, figs. 427, 428, 478, 479. The southernmost example I know was on the church of Moirax (Lot-et-Garonne) near Agen (see *Revue de l'art chrétien*, 1910, p. 279). Note also a capital from La Sauve with the story of John the Baptist, in the Musée Lapidaire of Bordeaux, for a representation of a building with just such scales. They occur also on the relief of the Feast in the House of Simon at Foussais by G. Audebert (Porter, *op. cit.*, ill. 1063). The presence of this form on the architectural frame of the great enamel altar-frontal from Silos, now in Burgos, is undoubtedly a Limousin feature—cf. the same motif on the châsse of Ambazac (Rupin, *L'oeuvre de Limoges*, Paris, 1890, I, fig. 208, pl. XIX). For different theories explaining the use of these inverted flat scales, see de Lasteyrie, *op. cit.*, p. 405 and Enlart, C., *Manuel d'archéologie française*, 1919, I, p. 367.

The conical form of these spires was copied in several Spanish buildings.⁹⁹ In the old cathedral of Salamanca such spires were built on the Torre del Gallo, which surmounts a crossing that the abbot Nebreda of Silos (c. 1580) declared was similar to the crossing of his own church.¹⁰⁰ But in these Spanish Romanesque spires the imbricated scales are not inverted as in their French models. It is therefore more likely that the inverted form in the relief at Silos is the result of first-hand knowledge of French architecture, or the copying of a French image.¹⁰¹

Even if the relief of Thomas lacked these peculiarities of the roofing and the musicians, the very use of a crenelated architecture with turrets as a frame in this scene alone—in the group of six—would indicate ultimately northern prototypes. For it is in precisely this kind of structure that the incident is shown in Carolingian art.¹⁰²

The dependence on foreign art, however, should not distract us from the local and contemporary factors in the conception of such marginal secular details in religious imagery. More important is the urban and feudal context of the musicians in the sculpture. They are identified with the city, and in this identification assume a double significance, as watchers in a bellicose feudal society who call out to or warn the townspeople, and as popular entertainers.¹⁰³ The first sense is directly realized on the porch of Moissac which has already been cited. The crenelations are carved there with real figures who enact in a permanent manner the rôle of watchmen.

These figures, "singing out and blowing on a horn," as Guibert of Nogent,¹⁰⁴ a contemporary of the sculptors of Silos and Moissac, describes the watchmen of his time, are the forerunners of the sculptured men and women—the bourgeois Jacquemards—who strike the hours in the municipal belfries of the later Middle Ages.¹⁰⁵ They are among the oldest examples of a specifically burgher form of artistic illusionism. In the fifteenth century, as in the Hôtel de Ville in Bourges and in the House of Jacques Coeur, real beings in contemporary dress are carved in false windows, or looking down to the spectator from

99. Notably in Toro, Zamora, and Salamanca. See Lamperez, *Historia de la arquitectura cristiana en España*, Madrid, 1908, I, fig. 246; Ricardo García Guereta, *La Torre del Gallo*, in *Arquitectura*, IV, 1922, pp. 129-136. For other Spanish examples and their relation to South French buildings, see Balbas, L. Torres, *Los cimborios de Zamora, Salamanca y Toro*, in *Arquitectura*, IV, 1922, pp. 137-153, and Hersey, C. K., *The Salamantine Lanterns, their Origins and Development*, Cambridge, Mass., 1937.

100. See Férotin, *op. cit.*, p. 359—"tiene un cruzero grande y muy bueno, y en este y en todo lo demas es bien semejante a la iglesia mayor vieja de Salamanca." This is obviously a lay judgment, and not a reliable evidence.

101. There are examples of such scales in scattered representations of buildings in Belgian, English, and German miniatures, but they are not concentrated regionally, or reproduced plastically as in Silos and in Southwest France. These roof scales should be distinguished from the non-constructive surface motif of imbricated scaly leaves, common in Romanesque and earlier art, and from the geometrical scale ornament of Early Christian screens and balustrades (cf. Venturi, A., *Storia dell' arte italiana*, I, figs. 407, 411, 412, 415, etc.). I do not insist on this detail, but I cite it as a confirmatory, rather than in itself conclusive, indication of the connections between Silos and southern France.

102. Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*, I, pl. XXI, no. 45—an ivory of Reims style in Weimar.

103. For a similar connection cf. a miniature in a manu-

script of the *Crónica Troyana*, c. 1350, in the Escorial, which shows a walled city with musicians and watchmen behind the crenelations (Pidal, *Juglares*, p. 71).

104. See his *Autobiography (Broadway Mediaeval Translations)*, London, 1925, p. 126, and the Latin text, ed. by Bourgin, L., Paris, 1907, p. 125 (lib. II, cap. vi).

105. On the belfry in municipal life, see the classic work of Luchaire, A., *Les communes françaises à l'époque des Capétiens directs*, Paris, 1890, p. 106; on the Jacquemards and the town musicians, see Blavignac, J.-D. *La Cloche*, Geneva, 1877, pp. 56-58, 385, 393, 408 ff., Chapuis A., and Gélis, E., *Le monde des automates, Etude historique et technique*, Paris, 1928, 2 vols., and Davidsohn, R., *Geschichte von Florenz*, IV, 1, Berlin, 1922, pp. 174 ff. On the crenelated city wall or gate as the emblem of the town, especially in southern France, see Roman, *Manuel de sigillographie française*, 1912, pp. 319, 320, and Blanchet and Dieudonné, *Manuel de numismatique française*, II, figs. 40-43.

The automatic Jacquemards of the churches and the town belfries are especially interesting for the worldly tendencies within Gothic art. These mechanical figures secularize the highest spaces of religious and civic architecture: the sounds of the elevated bell which radiate through the entire space of the town and announce the church before it is visible, these sounds are now revealed as material products of human effort, of the townspeople themselves in their mechanized simulacra.

balustrades and crenelations.¹⁰⁶ The sense of architecture as inhabited, as genuinely domestic and urban, and as part of a city with which it communicates, is directly concretized by such images.

We can perhaps identify the figures on the city walls of the relief of Silos through their peculiar instruments. They are the popular tromperos and tamboreros mentioned in Spanish documents of the Middle Ages.¹⁰⁷ A folk couplet of Burgos, in the region of Silos, runs:

"Oh que buen amor saber yoglar
Saber yoglar de la tambora Rana-cata-plan!"¹⁰⁸

The presence of these figures, with their suggestion of gaiety and love, is all the more remarkable since the Mozarabic penitential of Silos expressly condemns jongleurs.¹⁰⁹ The biographer of St. Domingo tells how a local priest suffered a miraculous contortion of the face for venturing to entertain the people before the door of the church.¹¹⁰ In the sculpture there are even women musicians, the *juglaresas*, whose profession was often denounced by the Church.¹¹¹ But the Church could not suppress a popular form of entertainment which penetrated even into the religious cult.¹¹² Berceo, a later poetic biographer of Domingo, called himself the *juglar* of the saint, just as the Franciscans were known as the *joculatores Dei*.¹¹³ In the towns of the early twelfth century the jongleurs were respectable burghers, privileged like the artisans with whom they were allied in uprisings against the Church.¹¹⁴

106. They anticipate the typically bourgeois theme of seventeenth century painting, the figure looking out of the window (Dou, Murillo, etc.). They must be distinguished from the corresponding figures on the classical city gate, like the Porta Marzia in Perugia (late Etruscan?), which are apparently guardian divinities, not citizens.

Dr. Julius Held has called my attention to a related conception in the church of St. Marien in Mühlhausen in the 1360's, life-size figures of the Emperor Charles IV and the queen carved on the parapet of the south transept (Pinder, W., *Die deutsche Plastik des 14. Jahrhunderts*, 1925, pls. 87, 88). In describing these sculptures (*ibid.*, p. 65), Prof. Pinder recognizes the civic political function of the figures in their setting and their direct spatial relation to the spectator; but in observing the precocious aesthetic effects, he labels the idea "baroque" because of the elimination of "aesthetic boundaries" between the sculpture and the spectator.

107. Pidal, *Juglares*, pp. 59, 60.

108. *Ibid.*, p. 60, n. 3.

109. London, British Museum Add. MS. 30853—"non oportet cristianos ad nuptias euntes ballare vel saltare . . . Qui in saltatione femineum habitum gestiunt et monstrose fingunt et malas et arcum et palam et his similia exercent, 1 annum peniteat" (Pidal, M., *Origenes del español*, Madrid, 1929, p. 23). The penitential probably goes back to a text of the eighth or ninth century; there are similar passages in the *Poenitential Vigilantium* (before 976).

The conception of the jongleurs as pagan is expressed in the Beatus manuscript of Facundo (1047) in the miniature representing the worshippers of Nebuchadnezzar's statue as jongleurs, including figures with horns and cymbals (illustrated in Pidal, *Juglares*, p. 315); the same conception appears in the Silos Beatus, folio 229 (Fig. 26).

110. Vergara, S. de, *Vida y Milagros de el Thaumaturgo Español, Santo Domingo Manso* . . . Madrid, 1736, p. 420; Pidal, M., *op. cit.*, pp. 39, 40.

111. Pidal, *ibid.*, pp. 42 ff., and Rokseth, Y., *Les femmes musiciennes du XIIe au XIVe siècle*, in *Romania*, LXI, 1935, pp. 464-480. In some Prudentius manuscripts the enticements of Luxuria are illustrated by female musicians

and a dancing woman, like the Salome of Romanesque art (Stettiner, *op. cit.*, pls. 4, 22).

112. On dancing in the churches see note 78 above. Music and dancing could be justified by the example of David; cf. the verses of Baudri de Bourgueil:

"Organa, cantica, cymbala, tympana, carmina, sistra,
Psalterium, citharae, saltusque David spoliati,
Et rota mystica sunt cultusque dei speciosus."

(Abram, Phyllis, *Les oeuvres poetiques de Baudri de Bourgueil*, p. 361.)

Cf. also the miniatures of Alfonso's *Cantigas*, in which secular figures of musicians and jongleurs accompany scenes from the life of the Virgin within a walled enclosure, Pidal, *op. cit.*, p. 455. In Silos the Gothic paintings of the ceilings of the cloister galleries include profane figures. It is even possible that the presence of the jongleurs in the relief reflects the secular entertainments during Easter week. In medieval art, the figure blowing a horn is often a symbol of jubilation. For an early example, cf. the Corbie psalter of the ninth century, Amiens, Bibl. Mun., MS. 18, psalms 99, 130.

113. Already in the early twelfth century, St. Bernard, who denounced drôlerie in art, likened his Cistercians to jongleurs. "In the eyes of worldly people we have the air of performing *tours de force*. All that they desire we flee, and what they flee we desire, like those jongleurs and dancers who, head down and feet up in an inhuman fashion, stand or walk on their hands and attract the eyes of everyone" (*Ep.* 87, no. 12, Migne *Pat. lat.*, CLXXXII, col. 217).

114. As in Sahagun in 1116 where the tanners, the shoemakers, and the jongleurs were the chief insurgents (Pidal *op. cit.*, p. 328). This is especially interesting for our study since the *fuero* of the town of Silos at this period was a duplicate of that of Sahagun. See below, note 130. S. Gili Gaya has discovered the name of a jongleur as a witness of contract in 1062 in Huesca; see *Revista de filologia española*, XIV, 1927, p. 274. On the payment of the jongleurs, their corporations, their regulation by the towns, see Pidal, *op. cit.*, pp. 85 ff. On the middle class origin of most of the early jongleurs in southern France, see



FIG. 18—London, British Museum: Harley MS. 4951, f. 297 v, 298 v, 300 v



FIG. 19—Silos: Cloister; The Apocalyptic Elders, Capital

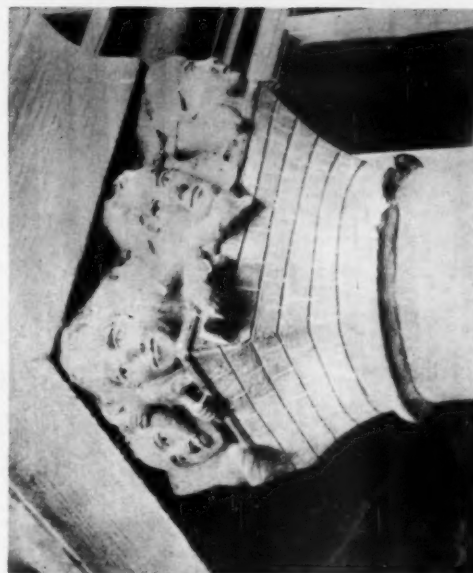


FIG. 20—Conques, Church of Ste. Foy: Romanesque Capital



FIG. 21—Silos: Cloister; Christ, Detail of The Pilgrims to Emmaus, Relief of Northwest Pier

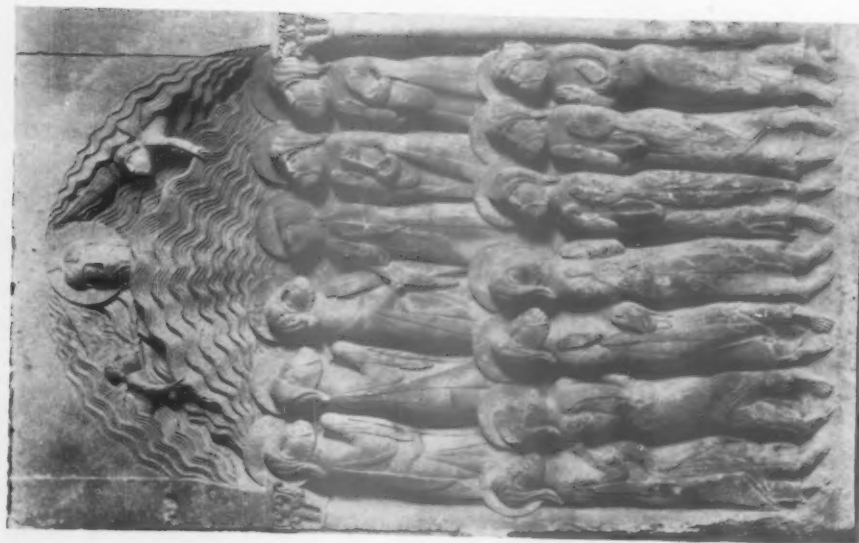


FIG. 22—Silos: Cloister; *The Ascension, Relief of Southeast Pier*



FIG. 23—Silos: Cloister; *The Pentecost, Relief of Southeast Pier*

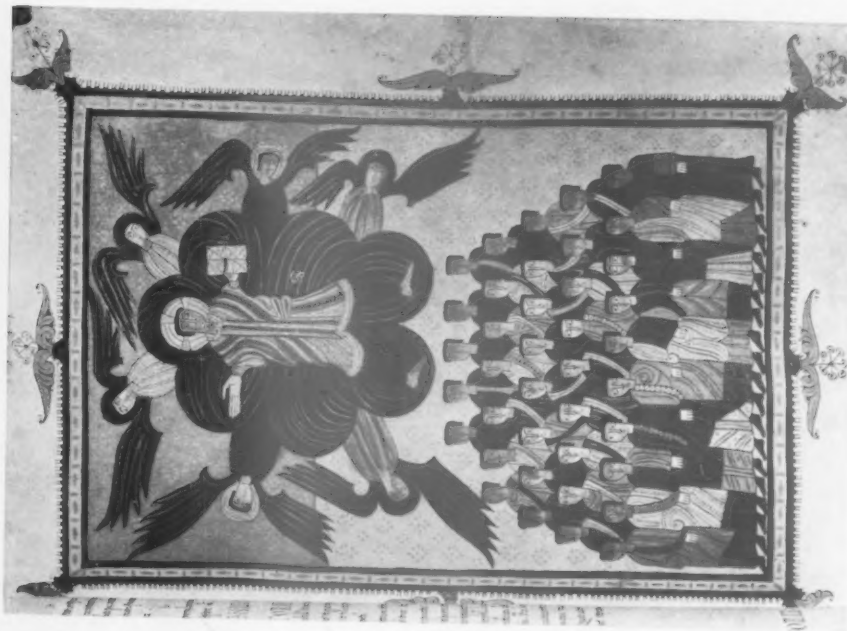


FIG. 24—London, British Museum: *Christ Appearing in the Clouds; Add. MS. 11695, f. 21*

In representing the musicians—jongleurs who improvise a sensual music, in contrast to the set liturgical music of the church—the sculptor expresses also the self-consciousness of an independent artistic virtuosity. He inserts in a context controlled by the church and committed to religious meanings figures of lay artists, free, uninstitutionalized entertainers, whose performance is valued directly in its sensuous and artisan qualities; just as in modern art, which is altogether secular, painters so often represent figures from the studio or from the analogous world of entertainment—acrobats, musicians, and harlequins—consciously or unconsciously affirming their own autonomy as performers and their conception of art as a spectacle for the senses. On a capital in Conques we can see this secular affinity in a rudimentary stage in the image of a figure, perhaps a watchman, blowing a horn beside the building artisan with his tools on the walls of a town (Fig. 20).

Like certain Romanesque sculptors of the South, the jongleurs conceived of their art as ingenious, intricate, and woven.¹¹⁵ The terms in which they describe their poetry apply also to sculptures of the region.¹¹⁶ They show similar conceits of manipulation; and it is hardly by accident that Gilabertus of Toulouse signs his sculpture as the work of *vir non incertus*, like his contemporary, the jongleuresque troubador William of Aquitaine, who refers to himself in one of his poems as *maiestre certa*.¹¹⁷ The autonomy of the profane poets, depending on classes with different social and cultural interests, is expressed in conflicting tendencies towards realism and satire, on the one hand, and towards eroticism, courtliness, and a playful preciousness of content, on the other. The intricate form in varying degree is common to both groups, but the moralizing realists are the jongleurs of peasant and middle-class origin, the courtly poets belong to the aristocracy.¹¹⁸

It is in the eleventh and twelfth century, in Romanesque art, that such details of secular life begin to appear in the frames of religious miniatures and sculptures. This conception of the frame implies also the loss of absolute concentration on the religious image. The margins become populated without direct reference to the central field,¹¹⁹ as in late Gothic miniatures, and suggest the larger, competing, environing world in which religion is only one element.

In Silos the urban, secular milieu occurs significantly enough in the one subject among the six religious reliefs which embodies the antitheses of faith and experience. The sense of the incident of the Doubting Thomas for the medieval church is given by the words of Christ, "Thomas, because thou hast seen me, thou hast believed: blessed are they that have

Jones, W. P., in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XLVI, 1931, pp. 307-311.

115. See Vossler, K., *Der Troubadour Marcabru und die Anfänge des gekünstelten Stiles*, in *Sitzungsberichte der kgl. bayerischen Akademie d. Wissenschaften, philos.-philol. u. hist. Klasse*, 1913; Jeanroy, A., *La première génération des troubadours*, in *Romania*, LVI, 1930, pp. 481-525.

116. Cf. *trobar clus*, *cobert*, *escur*, *sotil*, etc. and other terms cited by Vossler (*op. cit.*) from the poets' descriptions of their own styles. Marcabru speaks of the "entangled words" of the troubadours; Bernard Marti "interlaces the words" (*entrebescar los mots*); Raimbaut d'Orange writes "I pensively interlace rare, somber, and colored words" (cf. Jeanroy, *op. cit.*, pp. 498 ff.). William of Aquitaine also speaks of his interlaced verses (poem VI, 7). Cf. these poetic practices with Aquitaine sculptures in Moissac, Souillac, etc. which employ chiasmic symmetry, interlaced figures and draperies (trumeau of Souillac), figures in X, etc. I have analyzed these forms in detail in an article on Souillac in *Mediaeval Studies in Memory of Arthur Kingsley*

Porter, Cambridge, Mass. 1939, pp. 359 ff.

117. "Qu'ieu ai nom 'maiestre certa.'" (poem VI, 36, ed. Jeanroy, p. 15). In the same poem he speaks of his verses as being of "good color," and as issuing from his "atelier" (*obrador*); his art is his "*mestier*."

118. Cf. Jeanroy, in *Romania*, LVI, 1930, p. 482, n. 2—"Il est remarquable que les réalistes sont des jongleurs, c'est à dire des hommes de fort basse extraction; les plus anciens poètes courtois, Jaufré Rudel, Rambaut d'Orange, comme au reste Guillaume IX, appartiennent au contraire à la plus haute noblesse: ce n'est donc pas le hasard qui avait déterminé les attitudes que nous leur voyons prendre."

119. In the second third of the twelfth century there is an opposed tendency to expand a religious scene into the margins, as in the sculptures of the archivolts around a tympanum. This may be regarded as a religious counter-assimilation of the expanded world of experience; it is the starting-point of early Gothic Catholic universality and system.

not seen and yet have believed."¹²⁰ It is in accord with this elevation of faith above first-hand experience that the figure of Paul has been prominently inserted in the group of apostles beside Christ Himself, even though he was not present at this scene and his dignity as an apostle lay partly in the fact that he was the very one who believed in Christ without having known Him in His physical person. "For we walk by faith, not by sight," he wrote.¹²¹ Yet this elevation of faith, expressed also in the inscription of Paul's halo—*Magnus Sanctus Paulus*—implies for the Church a humility of the individual, in contrast to the irreligious self-reliance which follows from the empirical tendencies and the logic of secular life. Hence the further inscription on Paul's roll, *Ne magnitudo revelationum me extollat* (II Corinthians xii, 7). But this opposition of religious and secular values is not strictly resolved by the religious doctrines, since these doctrines, no matter how spiritualized and mystical, must call constantly on the evidence of history and the senses, on the Biblical story and the order of nature, to justify the content of belief. In making this appeal to the senses, the Church promotes forms of naturalistic representation that seem to contradict the denial of the senses on which the underlying doctrine is grounded. Or, rather, it is compelled to argue its doctrines more rationally and to present them in art in a more concrete form, as the society which it claims to steer (and which includes the Church itself) is directed more and more by earthly, secular interests and is increasingly influenced by the burgher class with its practical calculations and critical spirit.¹²²

Here then in Silos this characteristic inner conflict appears in a sculptural form: the church commands a highly tangible and detailed image of an historical event—the Doubting Thomas—of which the chief meaning is that the eyes and the hands are not to be trusted, that faith alone counts; but the authority of this doctrinal meaning depends further on the material aspect of the incident, since the reappearance of Christ to His disciples after His death is the material evidence of the Resurrection. Yet in this image the Church introduces, as a spiritualistic emphasis, a figure whose significance lies in the fact that he was *not* present at all, and whose distinguishing faith is a matter for humility, not pride. The marginal figures of the entertainers, introduced presumably by the artist, or with the consent of an abbot responsive to these profane forms, suddenly reveal to us the force of secular interests which are beginning to place experience above or beside faith; but they are conceived aesthetically, that is, from the special experience of the spectator and lay artist, rather than of active worldly individuals, though congenial also to these.¹²³

120. John xx, 29. Cf. the contemporary sermon by Radulfus Ardens: "Beati, inquit, qui me non viderunt et crediderunt . . . Sed his verbis ostenditur quoniam majoris meriti est fides quae sine sensus experientia credit quam ea quae per experientiam credit." (Migne, *Pat. lat.*, CLV, 1869).

121. II Corinthians v, 7.

122. An exegetist might say: the doubting Thomas, who must see in order to believe, is the burgher or city man, whose dwelling and sensory inclinations are shown in the frame of the sculpture.

At this period relics and miracles are already judged on the basis of first-hand experience, and the writers of lives of saints are compelled to acknowledge criticism, if only in prefatory statements avowing their own critical attitude. Thus the author of the *Miracles of St. Gilles* (c. 1120) says he will report only miracles he has seen or known through reliable witnesses (*Mon. Germ. Hist. Sc. XII*, 1856, pp. 316 ff.) and the anonymous writer of the *Historia Silensis* (a work usually identified with Silos—but this is now questioned by Gómez-Moreno—see note 195 below) says: "experimenta magis quam opinione didicimus" (XII), and

"stupenda loquor ab hiis tamen qui interfuerunt prolata" (XCVI). The abbot Guibert of Nogent wrote at this time a treatise (*De Pignoribus Sanctorum*) criticizing the naive acceptance of relics, in which he asserts of a saint: "antequam ergo eum deprecari, necesse est ut de veritate sanctitatis ejus altercer" and "quem sanctum nescit cum quis orat, peccat" (Migne, *Pat. lat.*, CLVI, 607 ff.) H. Delehaye, the foremost of modern critical hagiographers, has called Guibert "un véritable phénomène, en avance sur son temps de plusieurs siècles" (*Sanctus, essai sur le culte des saints dans l'antiquité*, Brussels, 1927, pp. 202, 203). But such merely theoretical avowals did not entail a real criticism of the evidence for miracles or a change in the manner of narrating the lives of saints, since the hagiographical type of legend had a compulsive rôle and limited the new critical attitude, as H. Günter has pointed out (*Die christliche Legende des Abendlandes*, Heidelberg 1910, pp. 184 ff.). But it remains significant how frequent the critical statements become after the eleventh century, in response to the empirical tendencies of the thinking of the time.

123. The frequent conception of the town, and especially the fortified town, as female and as the subject of conquest,

That an architectural frame should be populated in this free manner, beyond, or even contrary to, the immediate needs of religious representation, is a phenomenon foreign to Mozarabic art. The later belongs to the provincial society of Christian Spain under Moorish dominance, to the period of primitive, scattered, agricultural communities, with independent, mutually antagonistic rulers, and a native, uncentralized Spanish Church, distinct from the Roman in its liturgy and tradition and even in its reckoning of years.¹²⁴ Romanesque art in Spain, on the other hand, belongs to the period of disintegrating Moorish power, and the resulting expansion of the Christian kingdoms of the North, the conquest

in folklore, literature, and everyday speech raises the question whether in Silos the more explicit representation of the city walls with the opened doors and with the male and female musicians (who accompany both the wedding and the triumphal entry into a town), bearing contrasted instruments—the men blowing horns, the women beating on tambours—was part of a richly charged sexual image in the psychoanalytic sense (See Otto Rank's paper, "Um Städte Werben, Beitrag zur Symbolik in der Dichtung," in his book *Der Künstler*, fourth ed. 1925, pp. 158–170). It would be related then to 1) the aggressive and intimate physical aspect of Thomas' contact with the open wound of Christ, which corresponds also to the primitive conception of knowledge by touch and grasp—cf. its counterpart in the Coptic legend of the midwife with the withered arm at the Nativity, testing the virginity of Mary; 2) the medieval Christian symbolism of the closed door (*porta clausa*) as the Virgin (who is often placed above a closed door in images of the Pentecost—cf. Brit. Mus., Lansdowne MS. 383). On the corresponding symbolism in pagan literature see H. de la Ville de Mirmont, *Le "Paraklausithyron" dans la littérature latine*, in *Philologie et Linguistique, Mélanges Huet*, 1909, pp. 573–592. In an illustrated thirteenth century manuscript of the *Cantigas de Sta. Maria* (Escorial T.I. 1, f. 177), a clerk in love with a girl pleads with her in vain; she stands at the door of the city. In Cistercian manuscripts of the late twelfth and early thirteenth century of Conrad of Hirsau's *Speculum Virginum* (Troyes, Bibl. mun. 252, f. 58v from Clairvaux, Berlin, Staatsbibl. lat. 73, from Igny), the wise and foolish virgins are grouped on the two sides of a towerlike, gabled building (Paradise) under the figure of Christ, with one door at the left opened for the wise virgins and a door at the right closed for the foolish. (See Morel-Payen, Lucien, *Les plus beaux manuscrits . . . de la Bibliothèque de Troyes*, Troyes, 1935, pl. XVIII, no. 70.) The door may therefore relate to Christ as well as to the Virgin Mary. The extraordinary posture of Christ's rigidly raised arm, the position of the hair and head of Christ, also seem to indicate a sexual transference and ambivalence. The specific gestures of Christ and Thomas in Silos are not usual in medieval art; on the contrary, in Spanish Romanesque sculpture, in Huesca and Santillana del Mar (see Porter, *Pilgrimage Roads*, ill. 533, 866) Thomas does not even try to touch Christ's wound and Christ is the more active figure. (In the Avila Bible, however, on f. 325, Thomas and a second apostle hold up Christ's gigantic arm as Thomas touches the wound.) The doctrinal requirements of the theme hardly account for the diversity of postures of Christ and Thomas in the various examples, so that psychological and social considerations become relevant in explaining the different conceptions. Sometimes Christ does not even expose His body; He is completely clothed and Thomas merely touches his outstretched hand (Paris, Bibl. nat., lat. 9448, from Prüm). There are works in which only the bust of Christ is shown (Troia Exultet roll). In the English psalter, Brit. Mus., Nero C IV, both arms are extended to form a cross and are supported by two apostles. Also

interesting for Thomas' action is the passage from II Corinthians inscribed on Paul's scroll in Silos: "ne magnitudo revelationum me extollat." It is only the first part of a sentence which continues: "datus est mihi stimulus carnis . . ."—the thorn or stake driven into the flesh and the buffetings of Satan.

The elements of sexual fantasy suggested here are not incompatible with the religious context. Not only does the Bible refer to the wall and towers as feminine metaphors (cf. *Song of Solomon*, chap. 8, *Revelations*, chap. 17, on Babylon as the scarlet woman) and medieval commentators describe the façade and towers of the church as symbols of the Virgin, but in popular tales, especially in Italy in the fourteenth century, phrases like "ponere lo papa a Roma" and "pontificem in urbem intramittere" are familiar sexual terms. But we do not have to leave Romanesque Spain in order to justify the posing of these questions before the relief of Thomas in Silos. The verses on the virgin birth by Peter of Compostela, a conservative, strongly antiseccular churchman of the twelfth century, show clearly enough the feminine context of the Doubting Thomas:

"Ut propius solis radiis lux vitra subintat,
Sic uterum rector superum mox virginis intrat.
Ut dominus clausis foribus loca discipulorum
Ingreditur, sic rex oritur de matre bonorum."

(Soto, *op. cit.*, p. 122). The psychoanalytic investigation of the sculpture would not necessarily exclude or contradict the social interpretation given above, since the sexual symbolism and content depend also on relations and objects—the city, the instruments, the new values of the religious subject—which are historically and socially conditioned; and even the individual motivations of the sculptor are conceivably shaped by the conditions of his time. Thus the presence of these implicit sexual meanings—if they are indeed such—in the particular scene of the Doubting Thomas would be less likely before the Romanesque period; they presuppose to some extent the conflicts and that secular tendency which arise mainly with the burgher class and the growth of cities, and those very oppositions of faith and experience, ascetic repression and sensual enjoyment, expressed in the more overt meanings of the Doubting Thomas and the musicians in the city-frame.

124. In the *mappamundi* of the Beatus of Silos (f. 39v, 40r), unlike the corresponding page in the Romanesque Beatus of Saint-Sever or in the Liber Floridus of Saint-Omer (an encyclopedic and apocalyptic work of the early twelfth century which includes a chapter—f. 49v in the manuscript in Ghent—*de mundi civitatibus*), there are no indications of towns and cities, only of provinces. In this respect, the Beatus of Silos agrees with the older Mozarabic versions. There were indeed towns and trade in the tenth century in Christian Spain, especially in León, as Sanchez-Albornoz rightly insists (see his *Estampas de la vida en León durante el siglo X*, Madrid, 1926, p. 26, n. 44), but they had hardly the political, social and cultural importance that they acquired after the growth in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

of Moorish urban centers of industry and trade, and the struggles to establish powerful, centralized states. It is the period of alliance with the rulers of neighboring European states and the adoption of highly disciplined, universal, and centralized forms of church and monastic organization which support the new royal power. The freshly conquered and the older abandoned lands were now repopulated and colonized for economic and strategic uses; and with the increased productivity and wealth there were formed new urban communities of free farmers, artisans, and merchants. The beginnings of an aggressive middle class date from this moment. Modern municipal institutions, vernacular literature, and a high secular culture arise at the same time.¹²⁵

Of the new Spanish towns, some were formed in part by emigrants from southern France, attracted by promises of special rights, by the favorable economic conditions in the conquered Moorish territories, and the initial protection of the great abbeys and the militant state power.¹²⁶

It is well known that such a community was founded beside the monastery of Silos. It included Gascon emigrants, after whom a quarter of Silos bears to this day the name of Barbascones (Varrio Gascones).¹²⁷

The commercial importance of the town of Silos seems to have depended largely on its connection with the powerful growing abbey, which was unique among the monasteries of the region of Burgos—one of the chief commercial centers in northern Spain—in the extension of its domain considerably beyond the diocese.¹²⁸ As a religious center, possessing the body of Domingo, the new national saint of Castille, Silos attracted numerous pilgrims and traders.¹²⁹

No document tells us the exact date of the founding of the Gascon quarter. It existed perhaps as early as 1085.¹³⁰ A charter of 1096¹³¹ established the right of colonists to settle in Santo Domingo de Silos, and later charters of 1135 and 1209¹³² reaffirm the rights of the

125. For this change, see Ballesteros, A., *Historia de España*, Barcelona, 1920, II, chaps. III, IV, VI; Pidal, R. Menéndez, *La España del Cid*, 2 vols., Madrid, 1929. The most important source book for this period remains T. Muñoz y Romero, *Colección de fueros municipales*, Madrid, 1847. The profound cultural effects of these economic, political, and social changes may be judged from the changes in so stable a field as language. The philologist R. Menéndez Pidal, who groups the various material factors as "political," writes of this period: "En esta época, la mas crítica de todas las reseñadas, el mapa lingüístico de España sufre un cambio fundamental. Este cambio del mapa lingüístico es parejo del gran cambio que sufre el mapa político entre 1050 y 1100; no hay otros cincuenta años en la historia de España que presenten tantas mudanzas de Estados como esta segund mitad del siglo XI . . . Estos grandes trastornos políticos influyen decisivamente en los movimientos de expansión de los antiguos dialectos" (*Orígenes del español*, Madrid, 1929, p. 540).

126. On these colonists, see Boissonade, P., *Du nouveau sur la chanson de Roland*, Paris 1923, pp. 65 ff.; Pidal, R. M., *Juglares*, p. 327. On the rights of colonists in the new towns, see Keller, Robert von, *Freiheitsgarantien für Person und Eigentum im Mittelalter* (*Deutschrechtliche Beiträge*, XIV, 1), Heidelberg, 1933, pp. 64 ff., 141, 150 ff.

127. Férotin, M., *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Silos*, Paris, 1897, p. 388 ("puerta de Varrio Gascones," document of 1338), p. 460 ("Varrio de Varri Gascones"—1407). It is possible that these Gascons included Navarrese (Vascones) settlers, but later documents referring to a French mayor in Silos (see note 133 below) establish the fact that there was a French colony in Silos.

128. See Serrano, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 15, 16, 212 ff., 260, 261. In the "*Votos de San Millán*," a privilege attributed to Fernán González and dated 934 (but really of the twelfth century), requiring all the towns and villages of the region of Navarre and Castille surrounding the abbey of San Millán to give the latter what they had in greatest abundance, Burgos, Lerma, Bureba, and Silos are made to pay in coin, others in kind or manufactures (Serrano, II, p. 276).

129. On trade and pilgrimages, see note 209 below.

130. A town already existed in Silos in the middle of the eleventh century (see Férotin, *Histoire*, p. 74, n. 1), and there is even mention of a town council in an act of 1067 (Férotin, *Recueil*, p. 18); but there seems to have been no fuero or royal charter of privileges before at least 1085. In 1126, in a charter of S. Frutos, a dependency of Silos, the king, Alfonso VII, speaks of the fuero of S. Frutos as following the fuero of Silos and S. Facundo of Sahagun given by his grandfather, Alfonso VI. Since the fuero of Sahagun was given in 1085, and since it is described as identical with that of Silos ("secundum forum burgi Sancti Dominici et Sancti Facundi . . ."), it is possible that the fuero of Silos also dates from about 1085 (see Férotin, *Recueil*, p. 60). In another charter, of 1126 (*ibid.*, p. 56), the fuero is of "Sancti Dominici vel Sancti Facundi." Serrano (*op. cit.*, I, p. 329, n. 1) has recently questioned the date of 1085 and would place the fuero of Sahagun somewhat earlier, since it was confirmed by Simeon, bishop of Burgos, who died in 1082.

131. Férotin, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

132. *Ibid.*, pp. 63 ff., pp. 123 ff.

citizens. Documents of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries mention the existence of two mayors in Silos, a native Castillian and a Frenchman;¹³³ the same institution is provided in the *fueros* of other towns in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.¹³⁴

The presence of artisans from southern France in the region of Silos in the late eleventh century is confirmed by an inscription of 1081 in the church of San Pedro at Arlanza, a powerful abbey, eight miles northwest of Silos: GUILLELME ET OSTEN P(ate)R EIUS FECERUNT HANC OPERA(m) GUVERNAN(te) DOMO ABBA VINCEN(tio) IN ERA M(cxix).¹³⁵ Férotin¹³⁶ had already observed that the names of the builders are not Spanish, but did not take the trouble to determine their source. The name Guillelme is undoubtedly French; while Osten (Ostennus, Austennus) is especially common in the Middle Ages in the region of Bordeaux.¹³⁷ Saint Ostindus or Ostent (modern Ostinde, Austinde), a native of Bordeaux, and bishop of Auch in the eleventh century, is venerated in Béarn to this day.¹³⁸ In an early chronicle of Bordeaux, the history of Cenebrun¹³⁹ (of which there was a copy in the medieval library of Silos),¹⁴⁰ the murderer of the Spanish usurper of the throne of Gascony in the eleventh century is named Guillelmus Austencii.

It would be a mistake to explain the emergence of Romanesque art in Spain simply by such colonization from southern France, or even by the preponderance of Frenchmen in the reorganized religious life of Spain. These are only single factors or results in the larger, more complex economic and political change. The material bases of Romanesque art in Spain were not produced by France or Frenchmen; they depended more directly on the conditions and struggles within Spain itself, although finally affected by a larger European and Moslem world. Without the native movement the influence of French culture would have been very limited or even impossible. No foreign noblemen would have been tempted to fight here against the Moors; no Benedictines would have been invited into Spain by the Spanish rulers, no Roman liturgy imposed. Foreign elements, like the Cluniac monks, the landless feudal adventurers, and the Gascon colonists, were welcomed in so far as they

133. "Maiores Sancti Dominici sint duo, unus castellanus et alter francus"—1209 (*ibid.*, p. 123; cf. also pp. 163, 413). An identical provision appears in a charter of Sahagun, dated 1152 (Munoz, *op. cit.*, p. 310). Mayer, E., (*Historia de las instituciones sociales y políticas de España y Portugal durante los siglos V a XIV*, Madrid, 1925, pp. 55-58) asserts that "franco" or "francus" need not mean French, but simply a city dweller or a person exempt from certain obligations. However, the context in the documents of Silos and Sahagun is plainly ethnic, since "francus" is distinguished from "castellanus." A document of 1175, concerning a conflict between the abbeys of Silos and Arlanza, is signed by one Ioannes Francus from Silos (Férotin, p. 100). The inscription O(biit) Magister Robert(us) et uxor ei(us) Cecilia on the southwest pier of the cloister under the relief of the Annunciation also suggests a French origin.

134. Notably in Sahagun, a center of the French Cluniacs and the model of the institutions of other newly established towns in Spain. (T. Muñoz y Romero, *Fueros francos: Les communes françaises en Espagne et en Portugal pendant le moyen âge*, Madrid, 1867, was not available to me.)

135. The inscription has disappeared, but was recorded by Férotin (*Histoire*, p. 11, n. 1) who evidently saw the original. There was a second inscription ERA MCXVIII (1080) SUMSIT INICIUM HANC OPERA(m), of which L. Huidobro Serra has published a slightly variant reading based on other records (*Boletín de la Comisión provincial de monumentos históricos y artísticos de Burgos*, III, 1924, p. 203). A chronicle of Arlanza by Juan de Pereda (1563) dates the completion of the church in 1081. See Gómez

Moreno, *op. cit.*, 1934, pp. 93, 94, for still another reading. The relations of Silos and Arlanza at this period were very close. Charters of Arlanza of 1065 and 1092 were signed by abbots of Silos (see Serrano, L., *Cartulario de San Pedro de Arlanza*, Madrid, 1925, pp. 138, 166, 164).

136. *Loc. cit.*

137. See L'abbé Baurein, *Variétés Bordeloises*, Bordeaux, 1876, II, p. 290 (Jeanne Osten); III, p. 227 (Arnaud Austen), p. 231 (Pierre Austen); IV, 178 (Guilhemna Austen). These are all medieval. Note also an Austennus vicedominus in a document of 836 in Narbonne (Vic and Vaisette, *Histoire de Languedoc*, II, col. 195 of the charters); Ostense, bishop of Sarlat in Perigord (Chevalier, *Repertoire, Bio-Bibliographie*, II, p. 3443); Ostiens of Viviers (*ibid.*); etc. On the other hand, there is no Osten or related name in the indices of the collections of documents of Burgos and Arlanza published by Serrano (*op. cit.*).

138. He died in 1068. He played an important part in the Spanish Church in the period of establishment of Roman Catholic power. See Chevalier, *op. cit.*, I, p. 389. His successor was named Willermus (*Gallia christiana*, I, col. 981).

139. Archives Municipales de Bordeaux, *Livre des Bouillons*, Bordeaux, 1867, pp. 475 ff.

140. See Meyer, Paul, *Girart de Roussillon*, Paris, 1884, p. 76, note. The copy in Silos had been transcribed by a magister Vitalis of Saint-Sever, a canon of Saint-Severin in Bordeaux. The relationship of the Spanish churches of the second half of the eleventh century to those of the Gironde is a fruitful problem still to be investigated.

served the varying needs of the ruling layer and provided models and means for the newly developed interests in Spain. Certain parts of France, having preceded Christian Spain in the growth of cities and trade and in the organization of disciplined monastic and ecclesiastical powers, could facilitate the corresponding process in Spain. But the precedence of France was temporally very slight; and the example of her art could be absorbed so readily because of the independent and sometimes more active emergence of similar conditions in Spain. Recent historians even assert the priority of Spain in creating the codes of municipal law, and trace to Spain the formulae of individual rights in the cities of France and northern Europe.¹⁴¹ In the expansion of agriculture, also, Spain seems to have preceded the South of France.¹⁴² The well-documented early dates of various works of Spanish Romanesque art appear improbable only to those who have neglected their native basis and regard them simply as provincial derivatives of French art.

On the other hand, the Roman Church and its Cluniac ally, the upper feudality and the merchants in France, could only watch with a deep interest the struggles of Christians and Moors in Spain and the resulting changes in every aspect of Spanish life. They were concerned not only because it was a combat of their coreligionists against a heathen race—that was an ideological veil appropriate to the Christian morality of the time, and prepared them for the greater crusade against the Moslems in the East—but because of the possible effects of the outcome of these struggles on their own interests. Early in the eleventh century the papacy in its battle against the emperors had recognized in Spain a new field in which to assert the temporal supremacy of the church. In 1077, Gregory VII laid claim to Spain as a fief of the church, a fief which he entrusted to the victorious, but respectful, Spanish kings. At the same time he called upon the Christians of other countries to give them aid. The support of the Spanish rulers by the counts of southern France cannot be viewed simply as a religious act. To take one instance, the wealth of the powerful counts of Béarn, who were strategically entrenched near the Spanish border, depended on the tolls and péages levied on the foreign merchants whose chief trade was with Moorish centers, especially Saragossa, in northern Spain. The coins struck by the house of Béarn were the main currency of southwest France from the tenth to the twelfth century; their metal came from Spanish mines. The counts of Béarn had therefore a double interest in strengthening the Christian kingdoms of Spain: it meant not only the facilitation of imports from Spain, but a greater flow of goods through Béarn to the new Christian centers in Spain, enriched by the lands and tribute of the conquered Moors.¹⁴³ Towards 1080 the count of Béarn rebuilt the city of Oloron, the chief market for trade with Saragossa as well as for Franco-Spanish trade in general in southwest France. At the same time he founded the abbey of Sainte-Foi at Morlaas which he gave to Cluny, then especially powerful in both the Spanish church and the court of Castille. Hunaldus, the half-brother of the count of Béarn, was abbot of Moissac, the greatest of the Cluniac abbeys in the Southwest, and in the closest contact with the French ecclesiastics—bishops and abbots—in the Spanish Church.

The intrusive appearance of the inhabited city wall with its secular musicians follows from only one aspect (though affected by the whole) of the movement in society which underlies the change from Mozarabic to Romanesque art. In the latter, the urban motif

141. See Keller, Robert von, *op. cit.*, pp. 64, 141, 150.

142. See Bloch, Marc, *Les caractères originaux de l'histoire rurale française*, Oslo, 1931, p. 14; but I cannot accept his theory that the *défrichement* in southern France was delayed because of the colonization of Spain by natives of

southern France.

143. This was already recognized in the seventeenth century by Marca, P. de, *Histoire de Béarn*, nouv. éd., 1894, I, pp. 412, 413, II, p. 56.

does not emerge as a central pervading theme. It could only be marginal, since the economy is essentially agricultural: the dominant groups are still the aristocratic, military, and ecclesiastical powers, and, within this society, monumental sculpture is mainly an art of the Church, the only group with claims to an embracing and universal rôle. But this urban theme marks the emergence of a middle class and of widespread secular interests which ultimately transform even Church art. The expansion of the upper classes, the formation of stronger, centralized monarchical and ecclesiastical authority, in fact, intensified the development of merchant and artisan groups. The Reconquest in Spain brought new wealth to Castille in the form of tribute, a steady annual revenue which was expended on luxuries, construction, and war. The great architectural enterprises of the time—castles, fortifications, and churches—the elaborate forms of courtly entertainment and ceremony (even in the Church), undoubtedly affected the numbers and status, the technical levels and fantasy, of the artisans and contributed also to the wealth of merchants and money-lenders.¹⁴⁴ In a similar way the political and administrative needs of the new centralized Church and State promoted diplomatic skill, statecraft, legal studies, critical observation of human behavior, a superior documentation, and historical writing.¹⁴⁵ Thus the new practical and cultural needs of the upper classes indirectly advanced the growth of the towns and those interests in everyday experience and the norms of empirical knowledge which underlie the broad naturalistic tendencies of later medieval art. These tendencies were qualified, however, by the changing situation of the groups for which the art was produced, so that the level of naturalism actively acquired in preceding generations and under other conditions, could become a purely conventional idiom and embody a newer range of religious and courtly values, often opposed to the viewpoints out of which the naturalism had come.

Although essentially religious in content, the large Romanesque reliefs of Silos are conceived in a far more naturalistic way than any Mozarabic representations. The very idea of monumental narrative sculpture implies already—beside the advance in the techniques of working stone—a degree of concreteness and verity opposed to the emblematic illumination and the inert, minuscule ivory-carving which were the chief fields of imagery in the preceding period. The sculptures of Silos abound in marvelously precise and refined details of human form and costume. This multiplicity and precision, realized mainly in the geometrically shaped and decorative elements like hair, drapery folds, and the ornaments of dress, confer on the figures the appearance of densely detailed and varied fabrications of luxury artisanship, characteristic of a primitive, growing, naturalistic art. The completeness of represented objects is at first identified with their substantial aspect, only later—under the pressure of an advancing and more critical concern with nature, individuality, and the everyday world—with their environment, activity and inner life. Thus Christ in the

144. Ballesteros, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 547, 548, has observed the development of luxury, especially in costume, under Alfonso VI, and has contrasted the sumptuousness of his court with the simplicity of his father's (Fernando). Note in the Silos Beatus (Fig. 9) the richly ornamented costume of the jongleur.

145. These in turn promote the anti-aristocratic and unfeudal estimation of men by their capacities rather than by their class origin. Pope Gregory VII in 1081 advised the Castilian king, Alfonso, to select for the archiepiscopal office an able man of humble blood; the Church, like the pagan Roman republic, judged men by their virtues of mind and body rather than by the nobility of their families. "Neque vero te pigeat aut pudeat extraneum

forte, vel humilis sanguinis virum, dummodo idoneus sit, ad ecclesiae tuae regimen, quod proprie bonos exoptat, adscire; cum Romana res publica, ut paganorum tempore, sic et sub Christianitatis titulis inde maxime, Deo favente, excreverit, quod non tamen generis aut patriae nobilitatem, quam animi et corporis virtutes perpendendas adjudicavit" (Migne, *Pat. lat.*, CXLVIII, col. 605, 606). From the same viewpoint the Waldensians drew the more radical conclusion that priestliness is not given by ordination but by virtue, that any good man can administer the sacraments and preach. Gregory himself was described as "virum de plebe" by a contemporary; according to legend, he was the son of a goatherd (see Flèche, *La réforme grégorienne*, I, p. 375, n. 1).

relief of the Meeting with the Pilgrims is shown as a contemporary pilgrim to Santiago, with the familiar wallet and cockle shell of Saint James, which are rendered with a scrupulous, minute fidelity; but His head, which is equally detailed in the drawing of the features and the hair, is utterly impassive, a shallow mask smoothed like the surface of a column¹⁴⁶ (Fig. 21).

The positive growth of this art in a naturalistic sense, its departure from an older style in which the figure was a rigid, emblematic unit, may be judged within the series of reliefs in the successive rendering of such details. In the first reliefs—the Ascension and Pentecost (Figs. 22, 23)—the garments obscure the legs or bodily structure beneath; in the later works these are more and more sharply disengaged. In the former, when the artist tries to animate a static figure by the crossing of the legs, he creates an anatomically uncertain and inconsistent shape. We are not sure that the legs are really crossed: they appear to converge toward the knees and then part instead of cross.¹⁴⁷ The original flatness of the unbroken drapery surface is preserved and conflicts with the conception of an articulated, active body. The indecisive rendering recalls the archangel Michael in the *Beatus* manuscript.

But in some schematic forms of the sculptures it is difficult to distinguish the specifically Romanesque archaism from persistent tendencies of Mozarabic style. Especially in the reliefs with groups of uniform apostles like the Ascension (Fig. 22), the Pentecost (Fig. 23) and the Doubting Thomas (Fig. 17), the regular repetition of the unit figure and the impersonality of the human elements, suggest Mozarabic as much as Romanesque art. The apostles of the Ascension in the cloister (Fig. 22) resemble the corresponding series of figures in the miniature of Christ Appearing in the Clouds in the *Beatus* manuscript¹⁴⁸ (Fig. 24). They show a similar alignment of uniform elements, a similar compactness of masses and ornamental grouping. There are other Romanesque sculptures in which figures are arrayed in this manner, but nowhere else have I seen such a clear and insistent reduction of congregated human figures to ornamental units.

A resemblance to Mozarabic art may be found also in the unusual spatial arrangement of the Doubting Thomas. In Romanesque sculpture such groups (cf. also the Ascension, Pentecost, Last Judgment, etc.) are generally disposed in a single row in one plane, or, if there is a second row, the figures behind are so abbreviated that we see only their heads, and these in the same plane as the figures before them. Their bodies, and especially the feet, are completely omitted. The horizontal ground-plane implied in the succession of rows is nowhere realized; but the ground-line of the first row becomes the ground of the whole group. In this way the clarified order of the surface arrangement governs also the composition of a group with spatially overlapping figures, but only through an abbreviation of the distant elements which reduces them to a row of superposed or interposed heads like dittos to the main series of figures. In the reliefs of Silos, on the other hand, there is, as in occasional Mozarabic miniatures,¹⁴⁹ a gradation of overlapping rows, with at least two distinct ground levels implied in the position of the feet. The first row in the Doubting Thomas (Fig. 17) consists of entire figures; in the second, some figures are obscured by the

146. Characteristic in this respect is the minute rendering of the fingernails of Peter in the Doubting Thomas or of Christ's navel in the Descent from the Cross, scenes of great pathos in which the faces are practically expressionless.

147. Cf. the related treatment of the figure of St. James on the colonnette of S. Pelayo in Santiago—Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, ill. 705.

148. Cf. also the Christ in Majesty above saints in a miniature of the Mozarabic psalter from Silos in the library of Nogent-sur-Marne (Seine) MS. 2, published by W. M. Whitehill, *A Mozarabic Psalter from Santo Domingo de Silos*, in *Speculum*, IV, 1929, pp. 461–468, pl. III, opp. p. 466.

149. Cf. the Silos *Beatus*, f. 111, 151v, 152.



FIG. 25—Capua, Museum: Roman Mosaic

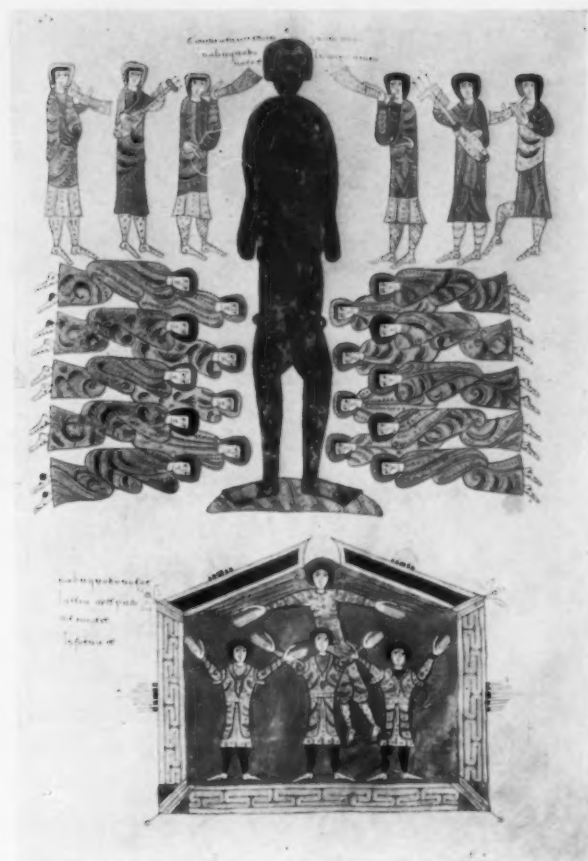


FIG. 26—London, British Museum:
Add. MS. 11695, f. 229

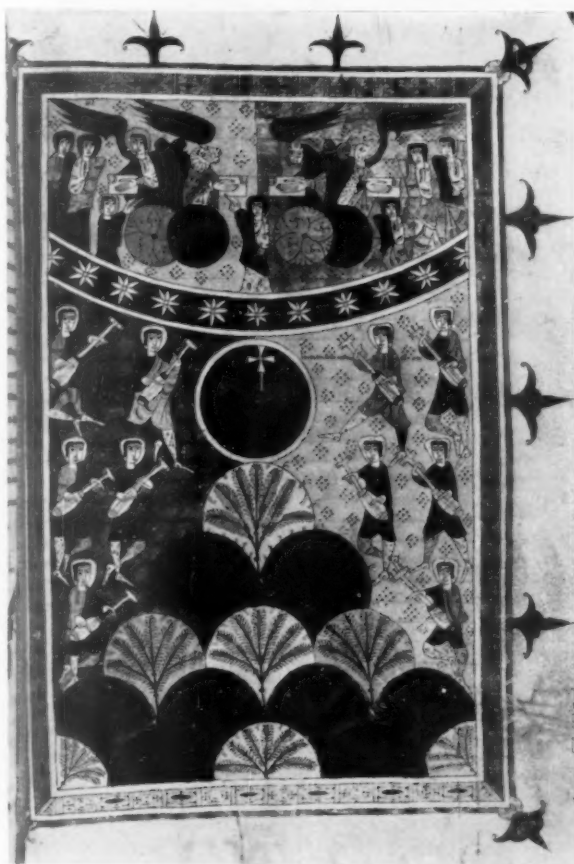


FIG. 27—London, British Museum: Elders
Adoring the Lamb; Add. MS. 11695, f. 164



FIG. 28—Silos: Cloister; *The Angel, Detail
of the Three Maries at the Tomb;*
Relief of Northeast Pier



FIG. 29—Silos: Cloister; Apostles Paul, Peter, and Andrew; Detail of the Relief of the Doubting Thomas



FIG. 30—Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale: Beatus on the Apocalypse; MS. Latin 8878, f. 217 v



FIG. 31—New York, Pierpont Morgan Library: Beatus on the Apocalypse; MS. 644, f. 9

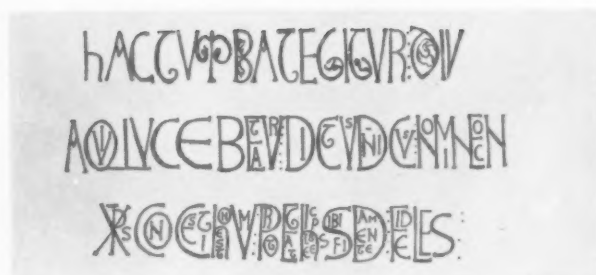


FIG. 32—Silos: Cloister; Epitaph of the Abbot Domingo

lower row; but the elevated legs and feet of the two central saints are visible between Christ and Paul and Peter. Only in the upper row are the apostles entirely restricted to busts. Although the composition as a whole is tied to a surface arrangement, the more distant elements are clearly presented behind as well as above the nearer figures.

Both conceptions are based on a late classical method of perspective representation (Fig. 25)¹⁵⁰ which persisted in the West into the twelfth century, an adjustment of a synthetically composed horizontal depth plane to superposed zones on a common vertical plane, somewhat as in a topographical map. In the more common medieval (and Romanesque) versions, the continuous ground-plane, or the isolated fragments of such a ground (applied to individual elements), is reduced to a horizontal ground-line, and the play of unclear, overlapping elements resolved into a simple alignment of distinct bodies. In Mozarabic painting, however, the ground-plane of late classic art was preserved as one zone of a background in which the vertical and horizontal planes of the setting of the figures fuse in a single banded surface; on the latter, in turn, are projected the overlapping superposed figures. A common ground-line was not always crystallized out as an integral element, and the figures therefore seem suspended in the coloristic void. It is this relation of figures and ground which reappears in the reliefs of Silos, though modified already by the use of the lower frame as a horizontal ground-line for the outer row of figures.

Although this arrangement may plausibly be interpreted as a vestigial classic form transmitted through Mozarabic art, it functions freshly in the sculptures as an expressive element and satisfies also the naturalistic search for concreteness and fullness of represented forms.¹⁵¹ For while it was not a fixed solution in Mozarabic art (which practised also the more typical medieval reductions, Fig. 26), this spatial device is most marked in the sculptures of Silos in the Doubting Thomas, one of the last of the reliefs to be carved, and is less evident in the older reliefs, the Ascension and Pentecost, which show in other respects the closest resemblance to Mozarabic design.¹⁵²

Within these common aspects of the sculptures and miniatures of Silos there are essential differences. In the manuscript the arrayed figures, densely packed and regular, are unarticulated as a group, without signs of individual life or movements other than the general governing direction of the mass. They have been stiffened as if each were an immovable printed word with an assigned place in a pictographic text (Fig. 26). In the scene of Christ Appearing in the Clouds (Fig. 24), the figures are completely detached from the group above them, in spite of the connection in the text. Even the musicians adoring the lamb (Fig. 27) do not look directly at the object of their adoration. The profile view, which would bind one figure to another through the glance, is practically unknown. In some of the reliefs, however, the attention of the apostles is already tied to a common central object, or, if they are detached in the Mozarabic manner, as in the Doubting Thomas, they show an independent turn of the head or mobility of posture. The subjective participation of the figures is reflected in the varied adjustments of the bodies and in the fine pulsation which animates the schematic order of the whole. Their flexibility is still limited by a dominating

150. As on the column of Trajan.

151. For other variations of the same ultimately classic arrangement in medieval sculpture, cf. the tympanum of the north portal of the west façade of Fidenza and the scenes of Paradise and Hell on the tympanum of the Last Judgment in Bourges Cathedral. Such works indicate the possibility that the arrangement entered Silos from a foreign (perhaps French) rather than native Mozarabic source.

152. Cf. the relation in Ripoll where the sculptures of the façade show precisely this overlapping of superposed figures (though far less regularly aligned than in Silos), in contrast to miniature of the Farfa Bible, from which the iconography of several of these sculptures is derived. In the manuscript, the upper rows of figures in a crowd are without feet. See Neuss, *Die Katalanische Bibelillustration*, 1922, fig. 1, fig. 25.

axis, as in Mozarabic art, but the silhouettes are now disengaged as curved lines with a delicate flamboyant undulation.

If this quality of movement in the reliefs is still subordinated to the ornamental scheme, a more individualized and emphatic Romanesque energy appears among the rigid groups in isolated single figures. The angel at the tomb, for example, in the relief of the Three Maries (Fig. 28), with his flying mantle and extended drapery of the legs, is a fully developed Romanesque conception. If we looked for a precedent for this figure in the Beatus manuscripts we would not find it in the Mozarabic copies, but in the version of Saint-Sever, a South French work of the third quarter of the eleventh century (Fig. 30).¹⁵³

In the force with which the angel crosses the architectural frame, in the independent vitality of the lines, especially of the costume, he is thoroughly opposed to the Mozarabic figures. The expansiveness of the sculptured Romanesque figure involves a movement in space, realized by the overlapping of the frame and the extension of limbs and drapery; in Mozarabic art, the occasional overlappings of figure and frame are simply devices of surface pattern, brilliant in color, but without the spatial and plastic suggestiveness of the Romanesque form.

Of the sculptures in the cloister the relief of the Doubting Thomas offers the richest evidence of this interaction of Romanesque and Mozarabic design. It is all the more striking because the interplay appears in the subject of the work as well as in the forms, and within the field enclosed by the urban theme discussed above (Fig. 17).

According to the character of our attention, two opposed qualities will appear to dominate the outward form of the relief—the regular arithmetical grouping of the figures as a collective mass, and the unstable, pirouetting postures of the three saints at the lower right. Proceeding from the first quality, we see the dancing figures as fixed, repeated units; proceeding from the latter, the whole composition is apprehended as a pulsing and vibrant, rather than rigid, whole.

In the same manner, if we observe the relation of the upper figures to the frame, we experience the primacy of the frame as an *a priori* limiting form: the heads bend or rise according to the shape of the frame. But if we observe instead the lower band of figures, we experience the unbounded existence of the figures: the outer saints, Thomas and Andrew, overlap the frame. Their limbs and flying draperies cross the enclosing columns. In the same way, the extended hand of Christ reaches across the frame.¹⁵⁴

A similar opposition governs also the iconography of the relief. The apostles are all subordinated in meaning to a dominant pair of Christ and Thomas; Christ is even rendered as superhuman in scale. But this dominating group is placed in the lower left corner. The centrality in meaning is thus dissolved in a more active, episodic, narrative arrangement.¹⁵⁵

153. Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 8878, f. 217v (John writing). Cf. also the seated Lord on f. 26v and the angel below, and the Lord on f. 4 (Neuss, *op. cit.*, fig. 47). John on f. 77v is remarkably like Thomas in the relief in Silos. The effort of some scholars, especially Lefebvre Des Noettes, to assign the Beatus of St.-Sever to the twelfth century is entirely groundless: not a single bit of evidence has been offered and the palaeographic authority for this opinion has remained anonymous. See in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, pér. 6, I, 1929, p. 97, and the comments of R. S. Loomis in *Speculum*, XIII, 1938, p. 227.

154. Observe also that while the general structure of superposed rows in an architectural frame implies a hori-

zontal-vertical grouping of elements, the superposed heads actually form diagonal, not vertical lines, and that the horizontal of the lower row of figures—the only complete figures in the relief—is broken asymmetrically by the figure of Christ.

155. The typical centralized arrangement with the superhuman Christ is illustrated by the Byzantine mosaics of St. Luke's in Phocis, of Daphni and S. Marco.

For a corresponding transformation in the Beatus manuscripts, cf. the paintings of Daniel and the Lions in the Mozarabic versions with the Beatus of St.-Sever (Neuss, *op. cit.*, pl. 17).

The glances of the apostles are all directed to an eccentric axis at the left of the field corresponding to the body of Christ.

Just as the primitive zoning of the figures is qualified by suggestions of depth, so the Mozarabic alignment of expressionless, uniform heads is modified by devices which individualize the single figures. The faces are minutely distinguished from each other by deliberate variations of the hair and the features, however synthetic and archaic. The bust rather than the head alone is rendered, and the hands are shaped in gestures varied enough to symbolize at least the particularity of individuals. Each halo is inscribed with the name of an apostle.

In the lower row (Fig. 29) this individuation is more emphatic, more detailed, even if through accessory and inorganic devices. The inscriptions have unique characterizing forms: instead of the common *sanctus* and the name of the upper figures, the inscriptions below read: THOMAS UNUS DE XII, MAGNUS SANCTUS PAULUS, SANCTUS PETRUS APOSTOLUS, ANDREAS FRATER SIMONIS PETRI. Of the three saints with accessory objects, one bears a scroll (Paul), a second, keys (Peter), the third, a book (Andrew).

In contrast to these elementary and relatively static variations which distinguish the individuals in a collective group, the apostles of the lower band seem to embody the stages of a common rotation or pirouetting movement. This is a characteristic Romanesque mobility foreign to Mozarabic style. The individual postures are not motivated directly by the incident as reported in the Gospels—the postures are rare in images of the theme—but are related to it in terms of an independent expressiveness, recalling in some respects Renaissance mannerist art. Thomas alone has a uniform, outwardly directed movement of the arms and legs; the others, with arms bent inward and legs constrained, are turning on their own axes. The extension of Christ's arm is rigid and spontaneous in a body otherwise soft and submissive. (We may see in this strange contrast an expression of the conflict of the secular activities and the ascetic religious values which constitutes the heart of this subject for Christian thought, and which acquired during the Romanesque period a greater poignancy and depth.) Paul, the central figure, faces Christ. If his body is turned away from Him, it is in opposition to Thomas' aggressive approach, but also in paradoxical repetition of the movement of Thomas' right leg. These directions may be grasped, of course, simply as the necessary adjustments of a balanced scheme, in which the predominant leftward movements of Christ and of the apostles are countered by the accented rightward movements of the others. The twisted figure of Paul in the very center of the field would then be a mediating element turned in both directions and embodying in one person the formal oppositions of the whole group. But such an account, however detailed as a description of the linear equilibrium of the work, would overlook the expressive character of the whole which has been brought to balance by these highly original devices, and the significance of the allocations of posture for the religious meanings of the incident, especially in St. Paul. The unique profile of Thomas, like his aggressive posture and gesture, isolates him within the group of self-constraining apostles whose pathetically inclined heads and delicate curved forms echo the passive, feminine aspect of Christ.

The postures of these figures are *motifs* valuable to the artist beyond their rôle as compositional means; the latter, in fact, would hardly be possible were not the postures valid in themselves as expressive, communicating forms. We have already observed the unstable stance on symmetrically crossed legs in the St. Michael of the Beatus manuscript. The

motion of the body is not directed toward other objects or determined by some apparent external force, but is narrowly confined, originating entirely within the figure and proceeding in no specific direction, just like the gestures of the figures in the relief. To describe it as pirouetting is also inexact, since this implies a motivated, unconstrained activity, as in classical images of female dancers. The figure of Peter, on the other hand, is immobilized and rendered unstable by a gesture of his own legs, the whole body being supported on the point of the inwardly converging toes; in the corresponding immobile classical figures, one leg is vertical and the weight is carried in a balanced and more relaxed manner on a stably set foot. Or, if a moving body is represented, the posture is unstrained, and adequately motivated by the function of the figure. Just as the immobile classical posture differs from the postures in old Oriental art in expressing the rich articulation of the body, a potential mobility or momentary rest issuing freely from the figure, so the Romanesque posture differs from the normally inert Mozarabic form as an expression of active energies, but spiritualized, constrained, and tense. The greater naturalism presupposed in this activity and plastic disengagement of the limbs from the older, unproblematic, rigid mass is confined or redirected in varying degree by ascetic fantasies. The seemingly arbitrary chiasma of the legs, in violating the natural tectonic of the stable body, confers a suggestion of inwardness on the saint. The X form constitutes an inverted local autonomy of action, a preventive counter-movement which chastens and deforms the limbs. In some Romanesque sculptures (as in Souillac, Moissac, and Toulouse) the crossing of the legs is so pronounced that the whole body appears the more vigorous and vehement in its motion. But in Silos the self-entanglement of the figure is extraordinarily effortless, graceful, and aestheticized, in harmony with the feminine contours of the body, the undulant drapery arabesques, and the delicate swelling of the relief.

The immediate historical source of the new posture is undoubtedly France.¹⁵⁶ The earliest Mozarabic manuscripts show, indeed, figures with legs crossed; these, however, are vestiges of late classical postures, not innovations of the Middle Ages. The legs are crossed in the more relaxed and physically motivated manner of pre-Christian art (Fig. 31).¹⁵⁷ For real parallels to these apostles of Silos we must turn to the manuscripts of southern France. A figure in the initial P (Fig. 34) of the first page of the Latin manuscript no. 1822 in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, from the abbey of Moissac,¹⁵⁸ a work of the end of the eleventh century, might stand beside Peter and Paul (Fig. 29). They have the same slender bodies, with narrow, rounded, feminine shoulders, crossed legs, and systematically banded draperies, the same effortless, unmotivated movement and detachment. The scalloped contour of the folds of the thigh and hip, which is misunderstood in Silos and prolonged as an ornamental calligraphic form, is more naturalistically conceived in the miniature.¹⁵⁹ The beast that devours the indifferent figure is like the animals on the capitals

¹⁵⁶ See note 9 above.

¹⁵⁷ As in the early Beatus in the Pierpont Morgan Library (MS. 644, f. 9), where the figure rests his elbow on a support. On these postures in ancient art, see Tikanen, J., *Die Beinstellungen in der Kunstgeschichte*, Helsingfors, 1912 (reprint from the *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, XLII).

¹⁵⁸ This manuscript of Jerome on Jeremiah is not explicitly mentioned in the Moissac catalogue of this period (Delisle, *La Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 1874, II, pp. 440, 441); but no. 5 is a "Jerome"; 12, a Jerome on Ezechiel; 15, a Jerome on Isaiah; there is also a Jerome on Daniel. Delisle includes MS. 1822 as from Moissac, but with a (?); it is very close in style, however, to MS. 1656 A, which is undoubtedly from

Moissac, and MS. 52 from Moissac. A figure very similar to ours appears in a miniature in the Bible of St. Martial of Limoges (Bibl. Nat., lat. 8, vol. II, f. 254v), heading Paul's epistle to the Thessalonians, at the left of the scene; his legs are like the Michael's in the Silos Beatus.—I hope to deal with this whole group of South French manuscripts elsewhere.

¹⁵⁹ For other examples of the same form, cf. the miniature from Saint-Sever reproduced above (Fig. 30), the arm of the angel in the relief of the Three Maries in Silos (Fig. 28), the tympanum of Charité-sur-Loire (Porter, *Pilgrimage Roads*, ill. 115), miniatures of Limoges—Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 8, vol. I, f. 52, II, f. 254v, etc.; lat. 9438 (Lauer, *Les enluminures romanes*, pl. LIV)—and Tours (Bibl. Municipale, MS. 321, f. 3), etc.



FIG. 33—Silos: Portal of the Virgins, Capital

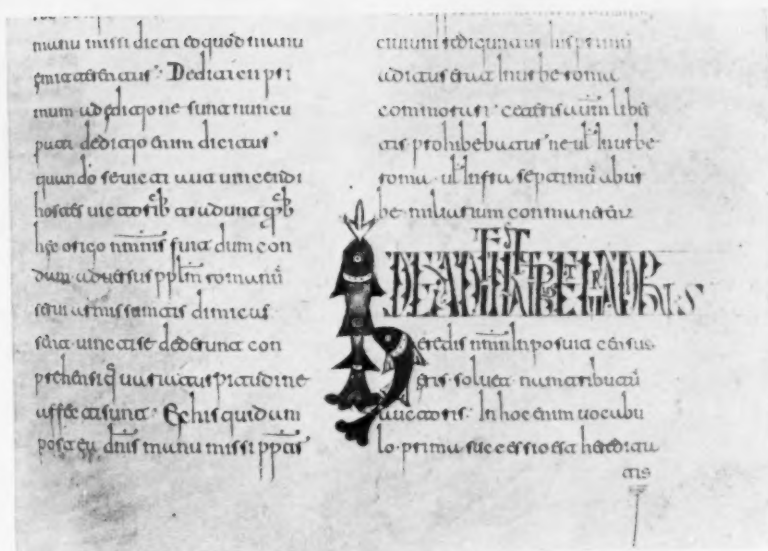


FIG. 36—Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale: Nouv. Acq. Lat. 2169, f. 191

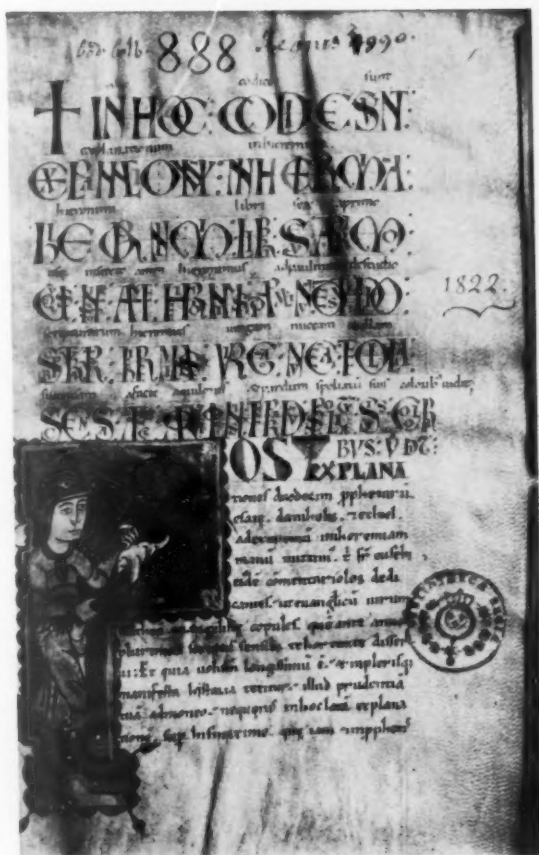


FIG. 34—Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale: MS. Lat. 1822, f. 1

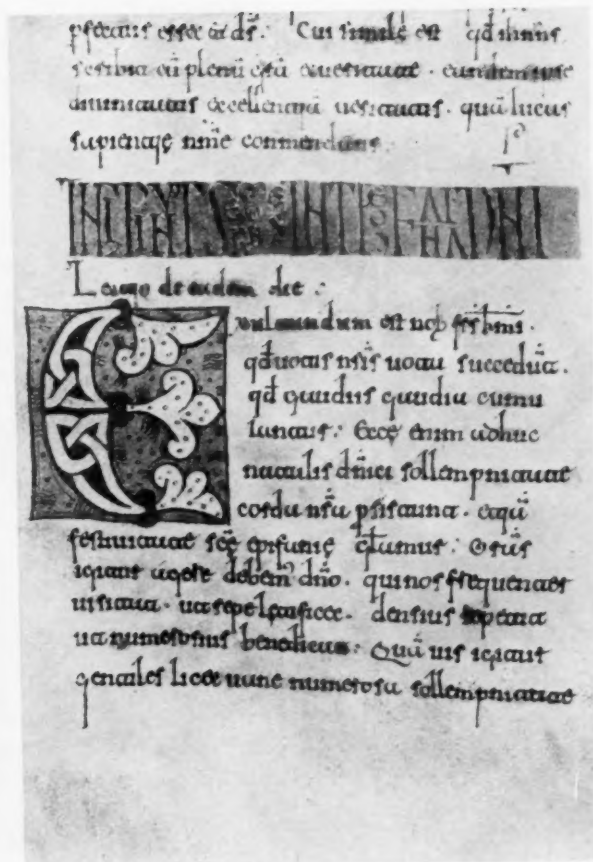


FIG. 35—Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale: Nouv. Acq. Lat. 2176, f. 57

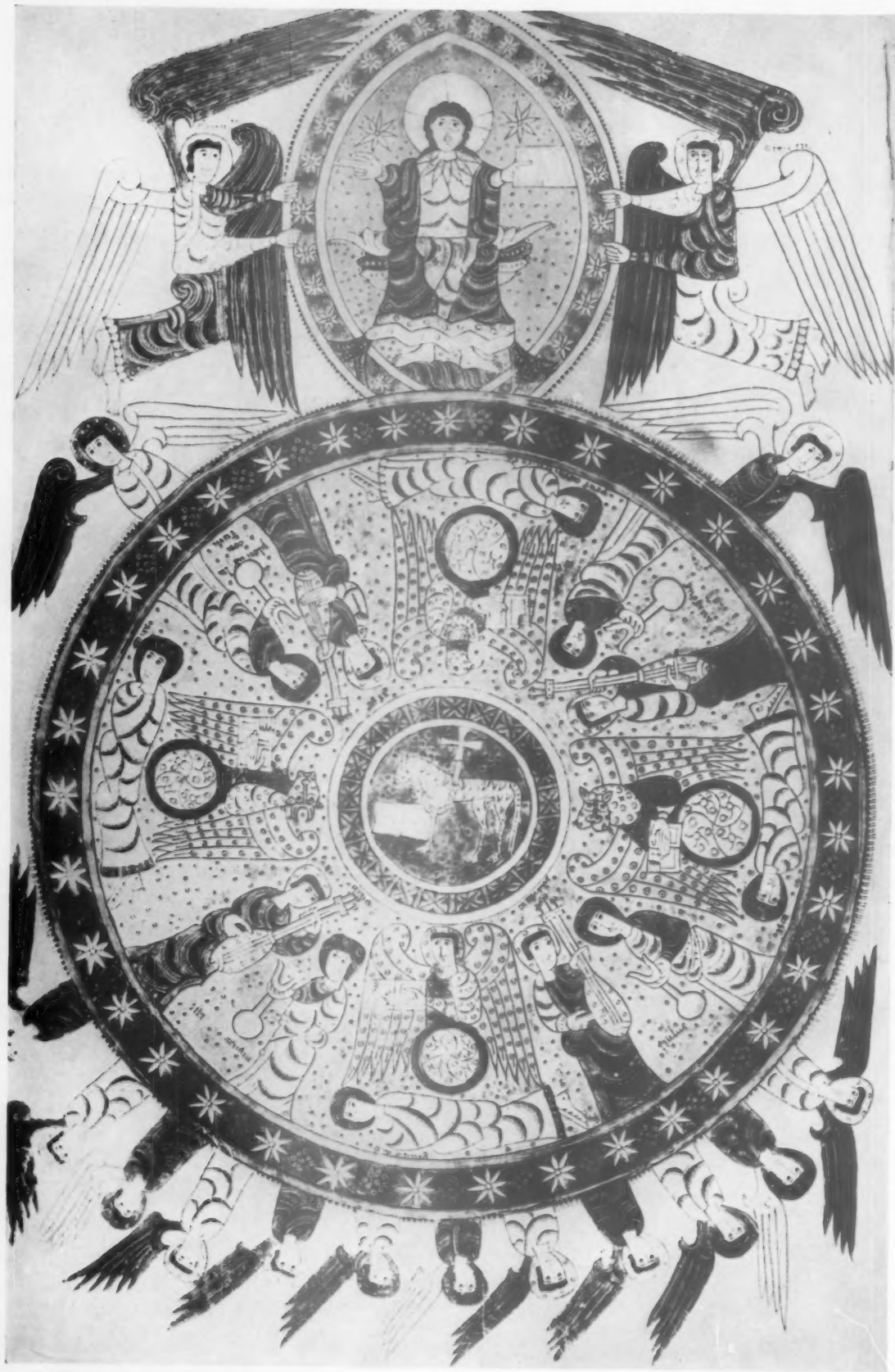


FIG. 37—London, British Museum: *Adoration of Lamb*; Add. MS. 11695, f. 86 v

of Silos.¹⁶⁰ The twisted posture and the foliate tail appear frequently in the cloister. Even the accompanying lines of majuscule writing illustrate the close connection of the Spanish and South French styles. In their superposed letters enclosed by larger capitals and in their monogrammatic grouping they resemble the epitaph of Domingo (Fig. 32).¹⁶¹

The content of the inscriptions of one of these figures in the Doubting Thomas throws a further light on the un-Mozarabic aspect and the French connections of the Romanesque sculptures of Silos. I refer again to St. Paul (Fig. 29), whose halo is inscribed MAGNUS SANCTUS PAULUS, and whose roll reads NE MAGNITUDO REVELATIONUM ME EXTOLLAT (II Corinthians xii, 7).

Biblical personages are often presented with such rolls in medieval art; and even Paul, who is no antetype or predictor, and has no part in the dramatic sermons which inspired some images of figures with prophetic inscriptions, frequently bears such a speaking roll.¹⁶² But I have found none with this particular verse. In the Mozarabic lectionary of Silos this chapter of II Corinthians is not cited, although a considerable part of the epistles of Paul is included.¹⁶³ Neither on the feast day of Paul, nor on the first Sunday after Easter, when the doubt of Thomas was recited, does this portion of II Corinthians appear as a reading in Mozarabic liturgical books.¹⁶⁴

It is, however, an antiphon sung on the feast of Paul (June 30) in the Roman rite,¹⁶⁵ which replaced the Mozarabic in 1081.¹⁶⁶

The probability that the choice of this verse was indeed dependent on the new Roman liturgy is strengthened by the corresponding Roman origin of the inscription of Paul's halo. "Magnus sanctus Paulus" are the opening words of an antiphon sung in the Roman

160. The figure holding the beast to form an initial P may be found also in a Roman breviary from Silos in the British Museum (Add. MS. 30849, f. 1). This page seems to have been inserted, however, from a missal. There is a related ornament of the P in a Catalanian manuscript, Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 794, and in a manuscript from Ripoll in the Vatican, lat. 5730 (see Albareda, A. M., *Catalonia monastica*, I, 1927, fig. 2, p. 82). Cf. also the initial in a manuscript from San Millán de la Cogolla, reproduced by Gómez-Moreno, *op. cit.*, pl. XV, 4. The style is evidently based on South French miniatures. See also note 76 above.

161. It is reproduced by Urbel, P. Justo de, *op. cit.*, p. 121 and by Férotin, *Histoire*, pl. X. The close connection between the manuscripts of Moissac and Spanish art of the late eleventh and early twelfth century is evident in the similarity of the little figure grasping the P in a missal from Sahagún (Bordona, J. D., *Spanish Illuminated Manuscripts*, I, pl. 51 A) and the corresponding figure in two manuscripts of Moissac (Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 52, f. 1 and 1656A, f. 16).

162. There is an example in a Spanish sculpture in the collection of Mrs. Arthur Kingsley Porter (Porter, *Spanish Romanesque Sculpture*, I, pl. 59, II, pl. 120); cf. also Rupin, *L'oeuvre de Limoges*, Paris, 1890, II, p. 425, for an example on a Limousin chaise. On the general subject of the inscriptions on the scroll of Paul, see Dobschütz, E. von *Der Apostel Paulus*, II, *Seine Stellung in der Kunst*, Halle, 1928, p. 60 and n. 85.

163. For the text of the Mozarabic lectionary of Silos (Paris, Bibl. Nat., nouv. acq., lat. 2171) see Morin, G., *Liber Comicus*, Maredsous, 1893, p. 457 (Epistolary index); see also Férotin, M., *Liber Ordinum*, p. 557 (index).

164. See Férotin, M., *Le Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum* (*Monumenta Ecclesiae Liturgica*, VI), Paris, 1912, p. 353 (Missa in diem Scorum Petri et Pauli); Migne, *Pat. lat.*, LXXXV, p. 178 (Mozarabic liturgy); and Morin,

op. cit., p. 223 (in dominico de octabas paschae).

165. For the choice of this passage in the Roman rite see the article, *Eptres*, by G. Godu in Cabrol, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie et liturgie chrétienne*, V, I, col. 288, no. 177. That it was also sung in the Roman rite of Silos on June 30 is proved by the text of the Roman breviary of Silos, written at the end of the eleventh century, British Museum, Add. MS. 30849, f. 257. This has been kindly verified for me by Mr. Francis Wormald of the staff of the British Museum.

166. The date of the official substitution of the Roman for the Visigothic or Mozarabic rite in the kingdom of Castile is variously given as 1078, 1079, 1080, 1085, 1089, and 1090 in the literature on Spanish history. It is evident from letters of Pope Gregory VII to King Alfonso of Castile and Bishop Simeon of Burgos that the new rite, propagated since 1074, was not yet officially adopted in 1079 (see Migne, *Pat. lat.*, CXLVIII, col. 339, 340, 448, 449, 549-551); but in a letter of 1080 (or 1081), Gregory thanks Alfonso for having finally established the rite in all Spain (*ibid.*, col. 604-606: "noverit excellentia tua, dilectissime, illud unum admodum nobis, imo clementiae divinae, placere, quod in ecclesiis regni tui matris omnium sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae ordinem recipi, et ex antiquo more celebrari effeceris"). A charter of Alfonso to the abbey of Sahagún, dated May 1080 by Fita (*El concilio nacional de Burgos en 1080*, in *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, XLIX, 1906, pp. 316-319, 351-356), also speaks of the introduction of the Roman rite. From the content of this charter, Fita infers a date of March 22, 1080 for the council of Burgos which officially abrogated the old rite; Florez, the editor of *España Sagrada*, had misdated this council in 1085. More recently, the abbot of Silos, Luciano Serrano, has read the date as 1081, adjusting the year to the Roman indiction. (*El Obispado de Burgos*, 1935, I, p. 306).

Church on the feast of Peter and Paul,¹⁶⁷ it was unknown to Mozarabic liturgy, and was probably introduced in Castile with the new rite in the later eleventh century. In the indigenous Spanish service the closest approach to this phrase was "Magnorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli" in the Mozarabic reading for the same day.¹⁶⁸

The contrast of Paul's greatness and humility was not in itself an invention of the foreign liturgy. What is new here, beside the particular context of the Doubting Thomas (which has already been analyzed), is the specific means of illustrating this contrast, the reference to Roman Catholic liturgy, the use of inscriptions on marginal attributes or extensions of the figure, the halo and scroll. Mozarabic literature knew the same contrast in another form. In the Beatus commentary on the Apocalypse, the name of Paul and an excerpted statement of his lowliness are contrasted, as on the relief in the cloister: "Latine autem Paulus a modico dictus, unde et ipse ait: Ego autem sum minimus apostolorum [I Cor. xv, 9]; quando enim Saulus superius [sic] et elatus, quando vero Paulus humilis et modicus."¹⁶⁹

These inscriptions of Paul not only confirm the intimate dependence of the sculptures on the historical changes in the Spanish church, but also permit us to infer a *terminus post quem* of the earlier galleries of the cloister. They are probably later than 1081, when the Roman liturgy was adopted in Castile.¹⁷⁰

The inscription of the relief of the Descent from the Cross (Fig. 1) also points to a foreign source. It is a peculiar, symmetrical leonine hexameter, with disyllabic rhyme and a structure of formally analogous subjects and predicates: HIC OBIT HEC PLORAT CARUS DOLET IMPIUS ORAT. Inscriptions of similar character appear on sculptures, miniatures, and metalwork in Lombardy and Germany,¹⁷¹ and indicate a common tradition of descriptive tituli in the arts of these regions. The form is especially common, nearer to Spain, in the poetry of western France in the later eleventh and twelfth centuries, in the works of Hildebert, Marbode, and Geoffrey of Vendôme. Thus Hildebert writes:

"Hic silet, haec fatur; hic supplicat, illa minatur."¹⁷²

This narrative form is ultimately classical and recalls such lines as Ovid's:

"Hac queritur, stupet haec, haec manet, illa fugit."¹⁷³

167. Cf. *Antiphonale du B. Hartker*, in *Paléographie musicale*, 2e série, I, 1900, pp. 285-291. The same text also throws light on the introduction of Paul in the scene of the Doubting Thomas, for the song goes on to describe the great saint Paul as one "qui et meruit thronum duodecimum possidere" (cf. Roulin, *Revue de l'art chrétien*, LIX, 1909, p. 367). In the eleventh century a hymn, "Sanctus claviger Petrus et magnus Paulus," and another, "Sanctus Petrus et magnus Paulus," are sung in southern France in Moissac, Limoges, etc. See Daux, C., *Tropaire-Prosaire de l'abbaye Saint-Martin de Montauriol*, Paris, 1901, pp. 159, 160 (really from Moissac), and Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 1338, f. 61, lat. 1120, f. 124v, etc. (from Limoges).

168. See Férotin, *op. cit.*, p. 353, and Migne, *Pat. lat.*, LXXXV, col. 766.

169. *Prologus libri II* (ed. Sanders II, p. 114); British Museum, Add. MS. 11695, f. 38. It follows a commentary on the twelve apostles and the significance of their names. Peter is Cephas, as head of the apostles, etc. Paul is included as an apostle. In the Silos manuscript, *superius* is written *superbus* (for *superbus*), a meaningful lapse found in other Beatus manuscripts. The same text appears in Isidore's *Etymologies* (lib. VII, cap. ix, *de apostolis*—Migne, *Pat. lat.*, LXXXII, col. 288).

170. See note 166 above. Since the "Magnus Sanctus Paulus" occurs also in the Pentecost, one of the oldest of

the pier reliefs in Silos, the whole series of six reliefs may be dated after 1081. On the slight possibility that the Roman rite was already introduced in Silos a few years before 1081, see note 200 below.

171. Cf. the inscription under Cain and Abel on the façade of Modena Cathedral—"Hic premit, hic port(at), gemit hic, nimis iste laborat." Cf. this with an inscription in the Bible of Floreffe (British Museum, Add. MS. 17738)—"Prima gemit, plorat, dolet et patiando laborat"; Otranto pavement mosaic of Hell—"Hic stat, hic ad ardua vadit, at iste cadit"; Musée de Cluny, enamel plaque from Hildesheim, Crucifixion, twelfth century—"Hec parit, hic credit, obit hic, fugit hec, hic obedit"; Erlangen, Gumpert Bible (Swarzenski, *Salzburger Malerei*, pl. XLIX, fig. 150), Baptism of Cornelius—"Hic docet, hic credit, baptismum suadet, obedit."

172. *De inventione sanctae crucis*, Migne, *Pat. lat.*, CLXXI, 1315. Cf. also col. 1290, 1305, 1309 for other examples by Hildebertus, and col. 1727, by Marbodus. Such leonines are also common in Germany in the eleventh century; cf. especially the tituli by Ekkehard IV of Mainz (see note 179 below). And we may cite as an exceptional Carolingian anticipation Theodulfus' line, "Hic sedet, hic sedit, hic it, et ille redit" (Migne, *Pat. lat.*, CV, col. 336 C).

173. *Ars Amatoria*, I, 124. I owe this reference to Professor E. K. Rand.

The Ovidian analogy is all the more relevant, since it is precisely the group of poets mentioned above whose work has suggested to Traube the name "Ovidian" for this moment in medieval Latin verse.¹⁷⁴ Some of their poems were in fact long attributed to the pagan writer.¹⁷⁵ These Ovidians of the eleventh and twelfth centuries did not limit themselves to pagan subjects. They composed also short poems to accompany religious images, and among them are several related to the inscription of the cloister.¹⁷⁶ The titulus for a Descent from the Cross by Hildebert has also an iconographic resemblance to the relief in Silos.¹⁷⁷

The foreign character of the inscription of the Descent from the Cross will be evident also from a comparison with the inscribed epitaph of Domingo in the same cloister.

"Hac tumba tegitur diva qui luce beatur
Dictus Dominicus nomine conspicuus;
Orbi quem speculum Christus concessit honestum.
Protegit hic plebes sibi fida mente fideles."

Here a pseudo-leonine form is used; tegitur is paired with beatur, Dominicus with conspicuus, etc.¹⁷⁸ The epitaph was written by a monk of the cloister, Grimaldus, who seems to have maintained an older tradition.¹⁷⁹

Interesting in this context are also the palaeographic forms of the inscriptions. I will not undertake, at this stage in our studies, to distinguish sharply the Mozarabic and Romanesque styles in inscriptions. Several shapes transmitted from the common late classic tradition may be found in both arts; and even modes of arrangement, unknown or rare in classical inscriptions, like the enclosing and superposed letters,¹⁸⁰ occur in both Roman-

174. See his *Einleitung in die lateinische Philologie des Mittelalters*, Munich, 1911, I, p. 113.

175. Lehmann, Paul, *Pseudo-antike Literatur des Mittelalters* (*Studien der Bibliothek Warburg*, 13), Leipzig-Berlin, 1927.

176. Cf. Migne, *Pat. lat.*, CLXXI, col. 1387, 1390, 1427, attributed to Hildebertus in Migne, but to Petrus Riga by recent scholars (Hauréau, B., in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibl. Nationale et autres bibl.*, XXVIII, 2, 1878, pp. 289-448).

177. Hic Genetrix	Joseph	Christus
Cernit	deponit	deportat
Natum	doctorem	crucem
Nicodemus	amicus	
abstrahit	hic flet	
clavos	tristis amicum.	

(Migne, *Pat. lat.*, CLXXI, col. 1282, no. 13). Note also on the same page the verse on the Nativity:

Preco Puella Deus Grex Pastor Stella Sabaeus
fert parit irrotat stupet audit ducit adorat.

178. On the epitaph of Domingo see P. Justo P. de Urbel, *op. cit.*, p. 106. Cf. the verse form with the contemporary Spanish epitaph of Sancho, who died in 1072, by a monk of the abbey of Oña:

"Sanctius, forma Paris et ferox Hector in armis,
Clauditur hac tumba jam factus pulvis et umbra."

(Pidal, R. M., *La España del Cid*, I, p. 207). These classical references already suggest the influence of the new post-Mozarabic culture, parallel to the French. For the corresponding leonine epitaph form of the same period, cf. the epitaph of the Pole, Boleslas Chrobry: "Hic iacet in tumba princeps gloriosa columba"—written about 1075 (David, Pierre, *L'épithaphe de Boleslas Chrobry, Etudes historiques et littéraires sur la Pologne médiévale*, Paris, 1928). The leonines in the epitaph of Munio in the cloister of Silos (P. Justo P. de Urbel, *op. cit.*, pp. 238, 239) are probably after 1100. The same is true of the inscription of Gonzalvus

(*ibid.*, p. 235), which includes two verses of St. Anselm, and is palaeographically of the twelfth century.

179. Cf. the epitaph of Eulogius by Alvarus, a Cordovan poet of the ninth century: Eulogius, lumen dulce per saecula nomen (Migne, *Pat. lat.*, CXV, col. 722). It should be observed, however, that true leonine rhymes appear sporadically in the writings of Alvarus and Dracontius (cf. J. A. de los Rios, *Historia*, II, pp. 111, 315).

Another inscription in the cloister of Silos, the speech of the angel to the Maries, on the arched frame of the relief of the Maries at the Tomb—"Nil formidetis, vivit deus, ecce videtis"—agrees in form with the inscription of the Descent from the Cross rather than of the epitaph of Domingo. It resembles also the speech of the angel to Elizabeth in the tituli of Ekkehard IV for the paintings of Mainz—"Ne timeas, vates! Ego sum Gabrihel, age grates!" (Schlosser, *Quellenbuch zur Kunstgeschichte des abendländischen Mittelalters*, Vienna, 1896, p. 173, 576). The speech of the angel to the three Maries appears also in a miniature in a Mozarabic manuscript from Silos, Paris, Bibl. Nat., nouv. acq., lat. 2176 p. 265 (reproduced in *THE ART BULLETIN*, X, 1928, p. 353 and Gómez-Moreno, *op. cit.*, 1934, pl. X). But we cannot therefore infer that the verse is also Mozarabic; for the miniature in question was added to the manuscript in the mid-twelfth century—contrary to Gómez-Moreno, *ibid.*, p. 18, who mistakenly attributes it to the eleventh century as the work of a pupil of Stephen Garsia of Saint-Sever. The inscription is in a French hand of the twelfth century, unlike the Visigothic hand of the text of the manuscript. The verse was probably taken directly from the cloister sculpture of the same subject.

180. The intersecting letters, however, as in the US of "Nazarenus" in the Doubting Thomas and in the Descent from the Cross, seem to be un-Mozarabic; they are common in French majuscule writing of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

esque and Mozarabic writing (Figs. 35 and 36) independently, perhaps derived from a common pre-Carolingian source. Certain uncial forms (C, E and ω) were used in Mozarabic writing before the Romanesque period; but uncial t in Silos is, I think, a Romanesque innovation.¹⁸¹ The Mozarabic manuscripts and inscriptions include the square T and also a characteristic Visigothic form, \mathcal{T} , which is common in the manuscripts of Silos (Fig. 36), yet does not appear in the sculptures. This Visigothic form was current among Spanish Romanesque sculptors, for it persists into the twelfth century on the figured columns of the Santiago altar,¹⁸² which are related to the sculptures of Silos. A more specifically Visigothic element found in the inscriptions of Silos is the uncial M with a long descending central leg.¹⁸³ It occurs constantly in the pre-Romanesque manuscripts of Silos.¹⁸⁴

A remarkable peculiarity of the inscriptions of Silos are the foliate appendages of several of the letters (Figs. 1 and 32).¹⁸⁵ They have been compared with French Romanesque examples of 1148 and later to confirm an attribution of the sculptures to the middle of the twelfth century.¹⁸⁶ But such foliate endings may be found in Mozarabic Latin inscriptions of the tenth and eleventh century in Granada, Cordova, and Málaga,¹⁸⁷ in regions occupied by the Moors. This distribution of the earliest known examples is all the more significant because of the corresponding practice of florid cufic writing in the East in Arabic inscriptions since the ninth century.¹⁸⁸ It is even possible that the Romanesque practice of such forms in stone was suggested by Moslem and Spanish art, though Latin manuscripts in France show a similar foliate elaboration of majuscules since the eighth century. But even if we lacked the earlier Moorish and Mozarabic examples, we could not accept the view that the foliate forms in Silos are necessarily of the middle of the twelfth century. An inscription

181. It appears in Spain in the seventh century (Huebner, *Inscriptiones Hispaniae christianae*, no. 142), but is so rare in the Visigothic manuscripts and inscriptions of the tenth and eleventh centuries that the examples in the cloister—considering their date and their context—must be derived from contemporary Romanesque art, where the form is common.

182. See Porter, *Pilgrimage Roads*, ill. 705, 706, 707, and *Spanish Romanesque Sculpture*, I, pl. 59. It is found also on an ambulatory capital in Santiago towards 1080 (*tempore . . .*) and in Iguacel in 1072; but is no longer used on the colophon page of the *Diurno* of 1055 in Santiago (Férotin, *Le Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum*, Paris, 1912, pl. VIII), which is already Romanesque in its figure style. It is found, however, in the Silos Beatus (fol. 2). A common origin in late classic cursive writing explains the use of a similar t in French Merovingian inscriptions (Orléans).

183. As in ADAM in the Descent from the Cross (Fig. 1). The triangular notched appendages of the O and V in these inscriptions are also typically Visigothic; they occur in the inscription of the chalice of Domingo.

184. In the Beatus, f. 273; in the manuscript in Nogent-sur-Marne (Whitehill, *op. cit.*, pl. II); etc. Cf. also a manuscript from S. Millan, dated 992, reproduced by Villada, Z. G., *Paleografía española*, Madrid, 1923, pl. XXVI. Monsieur Gaillard is therefore mistaken when he says (in *Bulletin monumental*, 1932, p. 58) that this form of M is unknown before an advanced period of the twelfth century, and cites its presence in the sculptures of Silos as an argument for a late dating. The common uncial M (without the descending middle leg) is also known in pre-Romanesque Spanish inscriptions; cf. Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, 1919, pl. 131.

185. Notably the B, M, G, T, d in the epitaph of Domingo (P. Justo P. de Urbel, *op. cit.*, p. 121), the h in hic and hec on the frame of the Descent from the Cross (Fig. 1) and the d and m of Adam at the bottom of the

same relief.

186. By Paul Deschamps in *Bulletin monumental*, 1923, p. 350. His reasoning is accepted by Georges Gaillard, *ibid.*, 1932, p. 58, and in *Gazette des beaux-arts*, LXXI, 1929, p. 342. Monsieur Deschamps has himself reproduced an example of such foliate letters in an inscription of 1126 in Vienne (in *Bulletin monumental*, 1929, fig. 33, x, d).

187. Gómez-Moreno, *op. cit.*, pl. 131. Letters with palmettoid growths occur also in the Silos Beatus (f. 4, 4v) and in the Beatus of Facundo (f. 6v), a work of 1047. It is interesting to observe the recurrence of this detail in the Visigothic type of the cover of the *Archivo español de arte y arqueología*.

188. On this point see my remarks in THE ART BULLETIN, XII, 1930, pp. 108, 109.

It should be added in support of this hypothesis that the history of Silos is unusually rich in contacts with Islam in the eleventh century. Silos was situated in the very region of Christian-Moslem warfare and acquired as a result of the Christian expeditions against the Moors several of their villages. The miraculous powers of St. Domingo were especially operative in freeing Spaniards from the Moors; hence the numerous votive chains on the tomb of the saint. His biographer tells of a Moorish convert to Christianity living as a monk in the abbey. The earliest surviving Latin manuscript in paper, a material introduced into western Europe by the Arabs, is precisely a Mozarabic breviary of the mid-eleventh century in the library of Silos (MS. 6). The magnificent Moorish ivory-box of 1026, now in Burgos, comes from the treasure of Silos; in the twelfth century an enamel plaque with a representation of St. Domingo between two angels was set in one side. Not only is the Arabic inscription on this box of the florid cufic type, but an altar-frontal of the late twelfth century, still preserved in the abbey of Silos, is decorated by a prominent cufic inscription.

on a relief from Sahagun, probably made towards 1100, if not a little before, already exhibits the florid appendages of Silos.¹⁸⁹

It is significant, finally, that the Mozarabic forms in these inscriptions of Silos are, apparently without exception, only such as occur also in French Romanesque inscriptions, or at least (like the uncial M) resemble the latter. The distinctively Visigothic T, the peculiar native ligatures and orthography, are missing. New Romanesque elements are undoubtedly present, but they do not constitute a distinct, superimposed style, completely replacing the earlier forms.

According to tradition a council held in León in 1091 abolished the native Visigothic-Mozarabic writing and made the French hand mandatory in the service books of the newly Romanized Spanish Church.¹⁹⁰ The ecclesiastical power could hardly overlook in its reform a field like script which was essentially a function of the church and so obvious a mark of the cultural independence of the suppressed rite. How eminent an activity was Mozarabic writing is attested by the extreme fullness and ornamental elaboration of the colophons of Mozarabic scribes, beyond those of any region in Europe. The new script was called French by the Spaniards themselves; in a catalogue of the library of Silos of the thirteenth century there is an item, "dos reglas de letra fransisca."¹⁹¹ Already in 1080 and 1088 documents of councils held near Silos are written in this French hand,¹⁹² but the native script survives sporadically into the twelfth century.¹⁹³ The Romanesque aspect of the inscriptions of the reliefs of Silos is therefore not surprising; it agrees with the elements of the new rite incorporated into the sculptures. And in the same way, the Mozarabic forms in the inscriptions recall the corresponding traditional aspect of the reliefs.

III

Is it not remarkable that in Silos, where the new religious order—the *lex Romana*, as it was called in the documents and chronicles of the period—was probably adopted in 1081, the displaced and no longer canonical writing should be employed up to 1109 in the Beatus manuscript,¹⁹⁴ and that this work should be painted so sumptuously in the style of the Mozarabic church?

There are no published documents which refer directly to the attitude of the monks and abbots of Silos to the liturgical change, or speak of the relations of Silos to the Cluniacs and

189. Porter, *Spanish Romanesque Sculpture*, I, pl. 46. The foliate forms in the B and P are not clear in this reproduction, but I have verified them in the original sculpture in Madrid. Gómez-Moreno (*El arte románico español*, 1934, p. 161) attributes this relief to the later twelfth century, "su estilo corresponde al siglo XII avanzado," but I cannot see its contemporaneity with works like the Virgin of Solsona or the relief of the Virgin and child in Santillana del Mar (Porter, *Pilgrimage Roads*, ill. 867).

190. Villada, Z. G., *op. cit.*, p. 88, rejects this tradition, and denies that such a council was ever held; but see Pidal, R. M., *La España del Cid*, I, p. 280, n. 1, for the evidence, including the account in the Tudense chronicle. For the corresponding change in musical notation from Visigothic to Aquitainian neumes, see Dom Gregori M. Sunyol, *Introducción a la paleografía musical gregoriana*, Montserrat, 1925, pp. 70, 71, 164, 199, 212, 213; and R. P. Casiano Rojo, *The Gregorian Antiphonary of Silos and the Spanish Melody of the Lamentations*, in *Speculum*, V, 1930, pp. 306 ff.

191. Férotin, *Histoire*, pp. 262, 263.

192. Férotin, *Recueil*, pp. 41-43 (Husillos, 1088); Pidal, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 867, 868 (Burgos, 1080).

193. Obituary entries of the death of monks (?) in 1102 and 1108 in the Silos manuscript, Paris, Bibl. Nat., nouv. acq., lat. 2169, f. 385, are still in Visigothic script (Férotin, *Histoire*, p. 297, n. 2). See also Villada, Z. G., *op. cit.*, pl. XLVI (1144), XLVII (1162). A thoroughgoing change in script was not fundamental or urgent in 1090, since no relationship between groups was directly and immediately affected by the formal character of script. The Cid still signed his name in a Visigothic hand in 1097 (Pidal, R. M., *op. cit.*, II, p. 590), but also in Arabic (*ibid.*, p. 611). The change in script was a secondary adjustment, more important in the liturgical books than elsewhere. Hence the cultural "lag" here is no maladjustment. Many who favored the new political regime did not sympathize with the ecclesiastical or cultural changes.

194. It was begun not long before 1091 (see note 2), but the belated use of the old script is attested by the Visigothic hand of the colophons of that year and of 1109.

the French bishops who introduced the new rite.¹⁹⁵ But in the Roman service books of Silos appear the names of Cluniac saints, the abbots Odilo, Odo, and Mayeul,¹⁹⁶ and various saints of southern France.¹⁹⁷ The new church building of Silos was consecrated in 1088 by Peter, archbishop of Aix, and in the presence of the French cardinal, Richard, the legate of the pope in Spain.¹⁹⁸ A priory of Silos, San Frutos, was dedicated in 1100 by the French archbishop of Toledo, Bernard.¹⁹⁹

Despite the lack of more explicit documents, it is probable that Silos played an active part in the change of religious rule in Castille.²⁰⁰ The abbey was intimately dependent on the kings of Castille, who directly promoted the foreign rite in order to unify the Spanish Church and win the support of the expanding Catholic hierarchy in Italy and France in their own struggles for power. The introduction of the Roman rite, like the restoration of the Benedictine rule and practice whether through Cluny or through local zeal, was simply a step in an already advancing reorganization of religious life. To maintain its place in the changing feudal structure, the monastery was drawn more and more into the secular world. It now had to play an exemplary rôle, to influence larger and often more antagonistic communities, and above all, to order its own life as a great proprietor and stabilizing force. The discipline, activity, and rationalized regime of the monasteries in the early Roman-

195. Grimaldus, a monk of Silos and biographer of Domingo, who wrote a little after 1090, makes no allusion to this change. The autograph manuscript of his Latin life of the saint was written in Visigothic script, Andrés, P. Alfonso, *Notable manuscrito de los tres primeros hagiógrafos de Santo Domingo de Silos*, in *Boletín de la Real Academia Española*, Madrid 1917, p. 18 of the off-print. If the so-called Silos Chronicle (*Historia Silensis*) were indeed by a monk of Silos, its violent anti-French sentiment would be significant here; but the Silos origin is questionable—see Gómez-Moreno, *Introducción a la Historia Silense*, Madrid, 1921. The recent effort of P. Justo Pérez de Urbel (*Los monjes españoles en la edad media*, Madrid, 1933-34, II, p. 475) to reestablish the Silos origin of this chronicle is unconvincing.

196. Cf. British Museum, Add. MS. 30849, f. 2-4v (Mayeul and Odo); Paris, Bibl. Nat., nouv. acq., lat. 2194, f. 2, 5, 56, 74v (Mayeul and Odilo). It is possible that these manuscripts were not written in Silos, though used in the monastery; they include masses of S. Domingo, however. The thirteenth century chronicler of Tuy refers to Domingo as *S. Dominicus Cluniacensis Ordinis Abbas de Silos* (Florez, *España sagrada*, XXVII, 1824, p. 231). P. Justo P. de Urbel has called attention to the fact that Cluniac titles replaced the native ones in the abbey of Silos in the late eleventh century; the miniaturist Peter of Silos calls himself *prior* instead of *prepositus*, and the titles *grandprior*, *prior claustral*, *subprior*, *camerario*, etc. occur in the documents of the abbey (*Los monjes españoles en la edad media*, Madrid, 1934, II, p. 434). One should not infer from these Cluniac elements in Silos a direct cultural or artistic relation with Burgundy, since the agents of Cluniac penetration in Spain were mainly monks from southern France, from Agen, Moissac, Perigueux, etc.

197. These are difficult to evaluate with reference to connections of Silos and southern France in the late eleventh century, since they already appear in Mozarabic manuscripts; for example, Saturninus of Toulouse and the feast of his translation, which were long established in the region of Navarre, occur in Paris, Bibl. Nat., nouv. acq., lat. 2169 (Silos manuscript of 1072), in nouv. acq. lat. 2171, (which was in Silos in 1067), British Museum, Add. MS. 30845 (Silos, tenth or early eleventh century), which

includes on f. 150 a drawing of the saint; Add. MS. 30851, f. 114 (Mozarabic psalter from Silos), hymn in *diem Sancti Saturnini*. Nouv. acq. lat. 2171 includes the feasts of Victor of Marseilles and Caprasius of Agen; *ibid.* 2176, the feast of Mary Magdalene, which arose in France in the eleventh century; nouv. acq. lat. 2170 and 2194 have the feast of saint Martial of Limoges; but all of these might have reached Silos before the middle of the eleventh century.

On the other hand, in the new Easter liturgy of Silos after the introduction of the Roman rite, the *quem quaeritis* trope is literally the one recited in France at this time, possibly under the influence of the tradition of Limoges which was the great center of trope composition. Cf. British Museum, Add. MS. 30848, f. 125v, and 30850, f. 106; and see Lange, Carl, *Die lateinischen Osterfeiern*, Munich, 1887, pp. 24, 25, and Gautier, L., *Histoire de la poésie liturgique au moyen âge. Les Tropes*, Paris, 1886, pp. 85 ff.

I am not referring to the presence of a sacramentary of the tenth or eleventh century from Aurillac in the library of Silos as evidence of liturgical relations between Silos and southern France at this period, since the manuscript was still in France in the thirteenth century. See Delisle, L., *Mémoire sur les anciens sacramentaires*, in *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, XXXII, 1886, pp. 223, 224.

198. This event is recorded in a contemporary note in a manuscript of Silos, Paris, Bibl. Nat., nouv. acq., lat. 2169, f. 37 bis verso. See also Férotin, *Histoire*, p. 72, n. 3.

199. See the inscription of S. Frutos reproduced by Férotin, *op. cit.*, pl. X (also pp. 218, 297) and in *Arquitectura*, Madrid, VI, 1924, pl. opp. p. 2. Another priory of Silos, S. Maria in Duero, was consecrated by the same archbishop Bernard in 1088; this event was recorded beside the consecration of the church of Silos (note 198).

200. It is just possible that the new rite was adopted in Silos before 1081 (though after 1071, the date of its adoption in Aragon), since in British Museum, Add. MS. 30850, a manuscript of the Roman liturgy in Visigothic script, the feast of Domingo who died in 1073 and was already a saint in 1076, is an *added* feast. But this addition might well have been made after 1081.

esque period derive not so much from the inherent conditions of ascetic piety as from the necessity of adjustment to new economic and social conditions. The new forms of monastic life were indispensable to the very existence of the great abbeys.

As one of the leading monasteries in Castille,²⁰¹ located in the region of intense warfare with the Moors on the one hand, and with the kingdom of Navarre on the other, Silos was constantly involved in the schemes of the energetic Castillian rulers to extend their power.²⁰² The abbot Domingo was a refugee from Navarre invited to Castille by the rival king expressly to restore the abbey, which had fallen into decay during the Moorish invasions and the anarchy of the local counts. His restoration of Silos was parallel to the rise of the kingdom of Castille; Silos enjoyed several large donations of the victorious kings, mainly agricultural properties which were intensively exploited for the abbey.²⁰³ In the documents of the time, Domingo appears frequently as the councilor of the kings of Castille and as an agent in their political and ecclesiastical affairs.²⁰⁴ His immediate successors continued this alliance which enriched the abbey and imposed on it the necessity of a model piety and discipline. The period of great constructions in Silos begins with Domingo and continues under Fortunio and his successors into the early twelfth century.

In the councils of Burgos concerning the new Roman liturgy the abbot of Silos was undoubtedly a prominent figure.²⁰⁵ Domingo had been present at the consecration of the royal basilica of S. Isidoro of León following the victories of Fernando in Seville, a ceremony attended by the French papal legate and other powerful ecclesiastics from southern France.²⁰⁶

The canonizing of Domingo and the change of the vocable of the church of Silos from its traditional Sebastian to Domingo after 1076 are also significant of the general shift in Spain.²⁰⁷ Domingo was a modern saint in his time, not a martyr or pure ascetic; he established the power of his abbey as the kings established their secular power; and even his miracles were contemporary in spirit and related to the economic and political needs of his age. He recaptured runaway Moorish slaves, employed in the new agricultural enterprises of the abbey, and rescued Christians who had been captured in the Moorish campaigns.²⁰⁸ In this he resembled other saints of the time, Domingo de la Calzada, Lesmes, Veremund, Inigo, etc., who engaged in ultimately secular activities, exploiting new lands, building bridges and hospices, and aiding travelers on the newly improved roads.²⁰⁹ It was an age

201. In a bull issued by a council of Husillos in 1088, the signature of Fortunius, abbot of Silos, heads all the abbots, including those of Arlanza, Sahagun, Oña, and Cardeña (Férotin, *Recueil*, p. 43).

202. See Férotin, *Histoire*, pp. 54-62. Notes on the contemporary campaigns of Alfonso and Sancho appear in a manuscript of Silos, Paris, Bibl. Nat., nouv. acq., lat. 2171 (*ibid.*, p. 274).

203. See Férotin, *Recueil*, pp. 15, 18, 23, 29, 31, 32, etc.

204. See Férotin, *Histoire*, pp. 54-56. Domingo was an ambassador of Fernando to Garcia of Navarre in 1054, and took part in the assembly held in Burgos in 1071 for the partition of Galicia. In 1097 his successor, Fortunio, accompanied the Emperor Alfonso on a military campaign.

205. The new rite was considered in a synod of 1077 and in a council of 1080 or 1081 held in Burgos, the seat of the diocese to which Silos belonged.

206. See Férotin, *Histoire*, p. 55n., and pp. 59, 60 for a miracle of Domingo at León on this occasion.

207. Silos was already called the abbey *Sancti Dominici* in a charter of 1076 (Férotin, *Recueil*, pp. 24, 25), but the older name recurs in charters of the next twenty-five years.

It is not until early in the twelfth century that the new name is fixed.

208. See Férotin, *Histoire*, pp. 44, 45, 52, 53, and Vergara, *op. cit.*, pp. 360, 402. For a representation of the early thirteenth century in Silos showing Domingo as the rescuer of chained Christian captives, see Porter, *Spanish Romanesque Sculpture*, II, pl. 97. Domingo also protected by miraculous means the crops of the abbey and of neighboring farmers from the depredations of a robber nobleman.

209. On S. Domingo de la Calzada (died 1109), see *Acta Sanctorum*, May III, p. 166 ff. He was visited by Domingo of Silos who recommended the energetic hermit to his followers. Like Domingo of Silos, he rescued Christians from Moorish prisons; he was intimate with the papal legate in Spain. Lesmes (died 1097)—*A.S.*, January III, pp. 671 ff.—was a monk of La Chaise-Dieu in France, called to Spain by Queen Constance, and given a priory in Burgos, near Silos. Inigo, abbot of Oña—*A.S.*, June I, pp. 11 ff.—also rescued Christian prisoners; but he is especially important for his organization of the agricultural work of the monastery and his expansion of its property. The socially progressive character of the monastic enter-

of great practical abbot-saints, energetic leaders in the material expansion of the Church.

How are we to explain then the belated survival of the older Mozarabic art in Silos toward 1100, twenty years after the fundamental religious change, at a time when the Romanesque style was already practised in the abbey?

The fact is that the great changes in Spanish society during the eleventh century, which till recently provoked historical controversy over their value, their promotion or destruction of a Spanish national spirit,²¹⁰ were not accepted in their own time by all classes of society in a uniform way, but led to real conflicts of interest. In the degree that the oppositions were national or regional (Spanish Christians against Moors, Castille against Navarre) several classes—the kings and their vassals, the Church and the free peasantry—often shared a common interest in the conquest of new lands.²¹¹ But within the Christian kingdoms an internal struggle is evident. The Reconquest as a whole, the establishment of new kingdoms and a centralized state, involving as they did important economic and political displacements, entailed a destruction of older relations. The lower strata of the nobility, which had often plundered the weak and isolated abbeys, lost their local power with the ascent of the kings and the strengthening of the church; certain elements of the local churches, bishops and abbots, large groups of priests and monks, hostile to a centralized church authority, found themselves subjected to a new liturgy and rule, imposed from above, and their institutions dominated by foreigners more cordial to this change. And the burghers in the cities, with their new codes of individual rights, were often antagonistic to the bishops or abbots to whom they were still bound by feudal obligations.

The documents of the struggles against the new order are relatively few. The canons of Toledo revolted against the French archbishop, Bernard, and the monks of Cardena against their Cluniac head; petty noblemen even joined the enemy Moors; and in the towns there were struggles between the people and the Church. When a French monk in Sahagun, in a court intrigue against the papal faction, supported the king in his momentary resistance to Rome, he could win over, according to the pope, a hundred thousand of the people to repudiate the new liturgy as a foreign form.²¹² When the new Roman liturgy was proposed

prises of road-building, hospices, and protection of pilgrims is rooted in the association of pilgrimage with trade; on this connection (common to Christianity and Islam), see Kulischer, J., *Allgemeine Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, I, 1928, pp. 91, 92.

Significant also is the introduction of the cult of Saint Nicholas in Castille during this period; an altar was dedicated to him in Silos in 1088 and in the cathedral of Burgos in 1092, very shortly after the translation of his relics from Myra to Bari (1087) when the Turks invaded the south of Asia Minor (see Serrano, *op. cit.*, I, p. 339, 345). The new cult of Nicholas throughout western Europe seems to have been linked with the recent growth of commerce: he was the patron saint of merchants and travelers at sea, and also of prisoners of war.

It is interesting to observe in this connection that even the apostle James (Santiago) was transformed in the eleventh century into an aggressive figure of the time. In the *Historia Silensis* is described the vision of a poor Greek pilgrim who, having denied that St. James was a knight or ever rode a horse, was confronted while praying at night in the portico of the basilica by the saint himself who mounted a magnificent white horse of which the radiance illuminated the portico (See Gómez-Moreno, M., *Introducción a la Historia Silense*, Madrid, 1921, p. cxxiii). This conception of James as a knight and a rider saint (unfamiliar to the Greek pilgrim of the time of Fernando I)

is paralleled by the contemporary elevation of St. Martin from a pedestrian to a cavalier.

210. Undoubtedly as a projection of modern conflicts between Spanish monarchist landholders and certain strata of the middle class.

211. Feudal relationships and the rivalries of the Christian kingdoms made it possible, and even necessary, that Christians sometimes support the Moors against other Christians. In 1063, Castille fought on the side of the Moors of Saragossa against the Aragonese, since the ruler of Saragossa was a vassal of Castille (cf. Pidal, R. M., *La España del Cid*, I, p. 145). Even the national epic hero of the Spaniards, the Cid, fought on the side of the Moors; and it is by his Moorish name, Sidi, that he has passed into history and Western literature.

On the other hand, the Christian rulers were opposed by the native Christians in the newly conquered lands. According to a lost chronicle of Pedro of León, cited by Sandoval for the year 1106, Alfonso VI feared the Mozarabs on the frontiers more than the Moslems and deported them to Africa. See Fernández y González, *Estado social y político la los mudéjares de Castilla*, Madrid, 1866, p. 57.

212. "Robertus, Simonis Magi imitator factus, quanta potuit malignitatis astutia adversus beati Petri auctoritatem non timuit insurgere, et centum milia hominum, qui laboris nostri diligentia ad viam veritatis redire coeperant, per suggestionem suam in pristinum errorem reducere" (Migne, *Pat. lat.*, CXLVIII, col. 575, 576).

in the 1070's, the whole country was disturbed.²¹³ Champions of the Mozarabic and Roman cults fought to decide the superiority of cult; but, although the native champion won and a trial by fire vindicated the Mozarabic book when the Roman burned,²¹⁴ the king of Castille imposed the Roman form as more suited to his needs. The outcome of an older supernatural, juridical test and the wishes of the people could not alter the realistic decision of an aggressive royal power. By strengthening the Church, by planting colonists in the reconquered regions and establishing free towns subject to the crown or the Church, and by acting as the arbiters in the conflicts between citizens and Church, the kings consolidated the forces essential to their new regime.

The older religious tradition and the interests which sustained it were too strong to be completely dismissed. Besides, the native Christianity was identified with traditions of Visigothic political unity and with a national feeling awakened by this very conflict with the Moors and therefore valuable to the rising kings.²¹⁵ Hence in the new ecclesiastic

213. See the letter of Alfonso to Hugo, abbot of Cluny: "De Romano autem officio, quod tua iussione accepimus, sciatis nostram terram admodum desolatam esse, unde vestram deprecor Paternitatem, quatenus faciatis ut Dominus Papa nobis suum mittat Cardinalem, videlicet Dominum Giraldum, ut ea quae sunt emendenda emendet, et ea quae sunt corrigenda corrigat" (D'Achery, L., *Spicilegium*, III, 408). See also Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, second ed., V, 1886, p. 174, for the opposition to the new rite from 1070 to 1090.

214. On the introduction of the Roman rite see Florez, *España Sagrada*, XXVI, 1771, pp. 153-157, and III, p. 311. The duel and the trial by fire are recounted in the chronicle of the archbishop Roderick of Toledo (died 1247) and in the earlier chronicle of Maillezais. The story may be legendary, but is relevant nonetheless, since it records the conflict of interests. When the Roman rite was adopted, everyone wept and said: "Quo volunt reges, vadunt leges." Roderick also reports an uprising of the people and the soldiers.

215. The presence of Paul in the reliefs of the Ascension, Pentecost and Doubting Thomas, discussed above, p. 364, may also have a bearing on the national sentiment and the resistance to Rome. For he is not merely included in scenes where he does not belong historically, but he is set above Peter by his greater proximity to Christ and by the inscription *Magnus Sanctus Paulus*. In the second half of the eleventh century the relations of Peter and Paul in imagery had already become problematic, and Peter Damian wrote a treatise (*de picturis principum apostolorum*, Migne, *Pat. lat.*, CXLV, col. 589 ff.) to account for the discrepant positions theologically. I suppose it was the efforts of Gregory VII to unify and centralize the church through the authority of Rome that made such questions especially urgent. The traveler to Rome could see in the great basilicas venerable mosaics in which Paul had the place of honor beside Christ (Sta. Pudenziana, SS. Cosmas and Damian); in Cluniac painting of Italianate style, contemporary with the reliefs of Silos, it is this tradition again which is followed (apse of Berzé-la-Ville). Peter Damian explains that when Peter is at Christ's right, his primacy among the apostles is honored; but that when Paul is placed there, it is to symbolize the latter's descent from the tribe of Benjamin (the *filius dextrae*), or the contemplative life, as distinguished from the active which is expressed by the left side (*ibid.*, col. 593: "quamquam et hoc non a mysterio vacet, quod B. Petrus Dominici lateris sinistram tenet. Per illum siquidem activa vita signatur. Et sicut contemplativa vita per dexteram, sic actualis exprimitur per sinistram"). Since the right side is the more spiritual, it could also be argued that Paul is superior to

Peter in that he pertains to Christ's spiritual period, after the Resurrection, whereas Peter is of the earthly period. (For the recent literature on this question and on the meaning of left and right in medieval art, see Sauer, J., *Symbolik des Kirchengebäudes und seiner Ausstattung in der Auffassung des Mittelalters*, 2nd ed., Freiburg im Br., 1924, pp. 96 ff. and 391.) But in Silos it is not so much a question of orientation as of absolute proximity to Christ and, more than that, of an historically unmotivated participation of Paul in three scenes from the life of Christ. Is it possible that the importance given to Paul here expresses the claims of an independent national church or tradition?

Paul was regarded in Spain as the apostle to the Spaniards, since he spoke in Romans xv, 24 of a voyage of Spain, "whenever I take my journey into Spain, I will come to you." There was no evidence that Paul really visited the country (the Early Christian texts of Pope Clement, the Muratorian Canon, the *Actus Petri cum Simone*, Jerome and Isidore, which speak of this visit, are not convincing, for they appear all to be based on the statement in Romans; but see Villada, Z. Garcia, *Historia eclesiástica de España*, Madrid, I, 1929, pp. 105-146, for a contrary conclusion); but it was argued that since he spoke of coming, he must have come: "sant Pablo, porque como ese mismo apostol escriviese a los Romanos que pasarian por ellos o vernian a las Espanas, asi aya venido en cuerpo," for an apostle can't lie, "que es verdad, no pudo mentir" (*Cronica de España* by Luke of Tuy, a thirteenth century bishop, ed. Puyol, Madrid 1926, p. 4). By placing Paul above Peter in the reliefs of Silos, the independence and worth of the native Spanish church are presumably affirmed against the aspirations of Pope Gregory VII. The latter, in demanding the abolition of the Mozarabic liturgy, had asserted that Spanish Christianity, Roman in origin, had become corrupt through Arianism, through later heresies, and through the centuries of Moslem rule (see his letter to Alfonso of Castille and Sancho of Aragon and their bishops in 1074—Migne, *Pat. lat.*, CXLVIII, col. 339, 340). Although an investigation of Mozarabic service books held in Rome under the preceding pope, Alexander II, had confirmed the orthodoxy of the native Spanish liturgy—the books were judged "bene catholici et omni haeretica pravitate mundi" (Férotin, *Liber Ordinum*, p. xix)—Gregory continued to insist on the heretical character of the Mozarabic rite (citing "suggerentibus religiosus viris," letter of 1081, Migne, *loc. cit.*, col. 605). Moreover, he regarded Spain as a possession of the See of Peter; and in a letter of 1073 to the French nobles who were going to Spain to fight the infidels, he gave the crusaders the right to lands taken from the Moslems, on condition they recognize that they have them "ex parte sancti Petri" (*ibid.*, col. 289). In a subsequent

scheme, the Mozarabic church was acknowledged in a provision that its liturgy be preserved in several parishes and in a single chapel of the cathedral of Toledo, the center of the Roman Catholic primate of Spain.²¹⁶ Independently of this concession, monks and priests in various parts of Spain continued for several generations to employ the Visigothic hand and to cultivate the traditions of the older Church.²¹⁷ In Silos the monks executed the copy of Beatus on the Apocalypse in its traditional script. The very content of the book belongs to the old national Church. The production of this copy affirms an independent, though weakened, monastic tradition,²¹⁸ and includes lengthy colophons in the spirit of the Moz-

letter he maintained that the kingdom of Spain from old times had belonged to the See of Peter ("regnum Hispaniae ex antiquis constitutionibus beato Petro et sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae in jus et proprietatem esse traditum"—letter of 1077 to rulers and nobles of Spain, *ibid.*, col. 484-487); and in conflicts between papal authority and Spanish rulers or individuals, he denounced their opposition or recalcitrance as an act against saint Peter himself. Of the French monk, Robert, who had led a popular rebellion in Sahagun against the new Roman liturgy, he wrote to Hugo, abbot of Cluny: "Robertus, Simonis Magi imitator factus, quanta potuit malignitatis astutia adversus beati Petri auctoritatem non timuit insurgere . . ." (*ibid.*, col. 575, 576); and after this rebel had been removed and the king had adopted the line of Rome, Gregory warned Alfonso that if he relapsed, "nos . . . beati Petri gladium super te evaginare cogamur" (*ibid.*, col. 577). In another letter, of 1079, the pope informs Alfonso that "God has subjected all the principates and powers of the earth to Saint Peter, the chief of the apostles in faith and devotion," and recommends piety and humility to the king (*ibid.*, col. 549, 550). "In order that our exhortation be impressed more deeply in your heart, we have sent you a little golden key in which is contained a relic of the chains of the blessed Peter" (*ibid.*). Such a gift was especially appropriate for a Spanish ruler because of the miraculous unchaining of Christian prisoners of the Moors, but for this miracle Spaniards appealed to their new national saints (see note 209 above).

The unusual importance given to Paul in the sculptures of Silos, in a region where the cult of Paul was relatively slight—according to Serrano (*op. cit.*, II, p. 390) there was only one church dedicated to Paul in the entire diocese of Burgos—this recalls the corresponding reaction against Peter during the Protestant Reformation and in the heresies of the Early Christian period and the Middle Ages. The Manicheans and their Paulician successors (the name Paulician, however, may not refer to the apostle) placed the highest value on the epistles and regarded themselves as disciples of Paul (see Alfarc, P., *Les écritures manichéennes*, Paris 1918, I, pp. 21, 49, 71, 101; II, pp. 162, 168 and Guiraud, J., *Histoire de l'inquisition*, I, pp. 156, 157; note also that the heretic Priscillian wrote a résumé of the doctrine of Paul—Villada, Z. Garcia, *op. cit.*, I, 2, pp. 102, 103). On the other hand, in the struggle against heresy in the twelfth century, Peter becomes the guiding saint; cf. the story told by Robert of Torigny, about 1152, of a young Gascon girl who remained for days speechless and without breath, and revealed, when she came to, that Peter had taught her the orthodox faith; whereupon she converted several heretics (Guiraud, *op. cit.*, p. 23). The prominence of Paul in the relief of Silos has no apparent heretical sense, but as a possible reaction against Rome corresponds to a similar elevation of Paul in other places and times. The Catharism of Italy and southern France seems to have reached Spain (Catalonia ?) early in the eleventh century; Raoul Glaber speaks of heretics passing from Sardinia to Spain; but I have found no evidence of such movements in the region of Silos in our period. Yet the

introduction of Paul in the reliefs of the cloister, his elevation above Peter, and the inscribed text reminding the spectator of Paul's humility, all these would have a bearing on the tense relations between Rome and the native Spanish church in the period of 1070 to 1090. However, by 1118, such a motive could hardly have operated in Silos, which had been so friendly a protégé of the Castilian kings during the crucial period of change. For in 1118 the abbey of Silos, to escape the exactions and pressure of the bishops of Burgos who claimed administrative jurisdiction over the abbeys of their diocese, obtained the privilege of direct protection by the See of Rome and became the property of Saint Peter, like so many monasteries in France and Spain (see Férotin, *Histoire*, p. 80, and Serrano, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 370, 371).

If this hypothesis concerning the figure of Saint Paul in the relief of Doubting Thomas is correct, then the sculptures may be dated more precisely between two termini, after 1080 or 1081—the year of the introduction of the new rite (which provided the inscribed texts, but which was also the occasion of resistance to Roman authority and the reaffirming of native traditions)—and before 1118, the year of the submission of Silos to Saint Peter. And the latter limit may be pushed back still further to the first decade of the twelfth century, since the period 1109 to 1120, according to its latest historian, L. Serrano (*op. cit.*, I, pp. 380 ff., II, p. 439), was very unfavorable for construction in Castile. There was civil war between the kingdoms of Aragon and Castile; commerce was interrupted and agriculture declined. Although Silos was one of the wealthiest abbeys in Spain and received great donations during the later eleventh century, the cloister was left unfinished for several decades after two galleries and the beginning of a third had been built. The west and south lower galleries are admittedly of a later style than the east and the north. The political and economic difficulties of the period 1109 to 1120 would account for the interruption of the work.

216. The thirteenth century chronicle of Alfonso el Sabio reports that the old Spanish rite was also preserved in some monasteries: "Et maguer que en algunos monesterios guardaron ya quanto tiempo despues el (sc. officio) de Espanna, et el traslado del salterio aun oy se reza en algunas de las iglesias cathedrales et en los monesterios mayores: per al comun, el de Francia anda por toda la tierra, et aquel usan al comun en la scriptura de las letras et en ell officio" (*Primera crónica general de España*, ed. R. M. Pidal, I, Madrid, 1916, p. 543).

217. See note 193 above. Dates of documents are still given in the Spanish Era throughout the twelfth century; but in Silos, both the Era and the date A.D. appear in records of consecrations of Silos and a priory in 1088 and 1089 (Paris, Bibl. Nat. nouv. acq., lat. 2169, f. 37 bis verso—Férotin, *Histoire*, pp. 72, n. 3 and 215, n. 3). The same double dating appears in a document of the council of Husillos, near Silos, in 1088 (Férotin, *Recueil*, pp. 41-43), which was attended by Fortunius.

218. Of possible significance for the independent monastic valuation of the manuscript is the fact that an important charter of the abbot Peter (1158), regarding the

arabic scriptoria.²¹⁹ It is, in fact, to St. Sebastian, the older patron of the abbey, rather than to Domingo, that the book is dedicated.²²⁰ There were still monks who had learned to paint and write in the older style, but their belated practice betrays, in its congealed forms, its increasingly divided and flecked coloring, and in the marginal Romanesque intrusions, the distance from the Mozarabic originals.

If Mozarabic design is still a formative element in the Romanesque sculptures, it is a further evidence that they are local works and depend on the recent historical change. The Church, by its character and function and its place in the feudal scheme, could not readily incorporate the secular values of the new classes or even the practical action of its own leaders as central elements of doctrine. It could compromise with them, adjust itself to them and even use them to maintain its own position; but the ideological importance of the Church to the friendly rulers and its influence on the masses of people lay finally in its religious teachings and the claims to transcendence over merely individual or class interests, by which alone it mediated between Christian society and God. Hence the strengthening of the Church as a secular power during the Reconquest required also a rigorously supervised renewal of cult and the restoration of old monastic rules. And since the Church was the main support of the monumental arts, the newer values emerging in society could be expressed in these arts only in a form qualified by the special interests of the Church. The Romanesque forms of church art embody naturalistic modes of seeing (and values of the new aristocracy) within the framework of the Church's traditional spiritualistic views and symbolic presentation. The persistence of Mozarabic qualities in the early Romanesque art of Silos may be seen then not only as incidental to a recent cultural transition, but as a positive aspect of the expansive development of the Church. That the conservative, emblematic forms of design should be Mozarabic follows from local tradition, from the available forms at the moment of the crucial change, and from the special conditions of this change in Silos. The economic and religious upswing of Silos begins in the 1040's almost two generations before the sculptures were carved, at a time when Mozarabic art was still the only art in the abbey and the reform of monastic life had all the appearance of a local restoration rather than an abrupt break with the past.²²¹ In Silos, unlike the Aragonese abbeys which were submitted directly to Cluny, the reform was largely a domestic work. The abbey was itself a responsive and self-adjusting factor in creating the local conditions out of which the new forms grew. The action of the abbots which prepared the way for a new art took place within the framework of the older culture, which was not always directly or immediately affected.²²² In the light of these conditions we can explain perhaps the special persistence of Mozarabic forms in the Romanesque sculptures.

allotment of the revenues of the abbey—matter of conflict between monks and abbots, finally settled after the intervention of the archbishop of Toledo—was copied in the Beatus manuscript (f. 267 v) at the same period. For the text and circumstances, see Férotin, *Histoire*, pp. 85, 266, n. 1, and *Recueil*, pp. 91–93.

Significant also for the attitude of the monks, as distinguished from the abbots who faithfully supported the kings, is the note on Alfonso's accession to power, written in a Visigothic hand on a blank leaf of a manuscript of Silos (Paris, Bibl. nat., nouv. acq. lat. 2171, f. 21). Alfonso is accused of the murder of his brother Sancho, the preceding ruler, who had killed his brother, Garcia. See Pidal, R. M., *op. cit.*, I, p. 218 for a facsimile of this text, and II, p. 736, for a transcription. The note was probably written soon after Alfonso came to the throne.

219. On the elaborate forms of Mozarabic colophons, see

Bordona, J. Dominguez, *Ex libris Mozárabes*, in *Archivo español de arte y arqueología*, XXXII, 1935, pp. 153–163.

220. See f. 276—*ob onorem Sancti Sebastiani abbati Fortunio librum Munnio presbiter titulabit hoc*. See note 207 above, on the vocable of the abbey after 1076.

221. This is evident from the account of Domingo's mission in Silos given by his biographer Grimaldus, who knew him in person. See Férotin, *Histoire*, pp. 24, 25, 37, 38.

222. But already in the 1040's and 50's the transition to Romanesque forms is evident in miniatures of manuscripts like the Beatus of Facundo (1047), the charter of S. María at Nájera (1054), the *Diurno* of Sancha (1055)—Gómez-Moreno, *El arte románico español*, 1934, pl. I–VI. The underlying Mozarabic tradition is still unmistakable in these works.

In the ornament of the cloister, where the religious factor is almost entirely absent, the Mozarabic element is less apparent. Although certain details of their carving recall the late Mozarabic ivories, the Romanesque capitals in the cloister are in type, motifs, and style, decidedly different from the capitals in Mozarabic buildings. The common, but incorrect, attribution of the early capitals of Silos to Moorish workmen is to this extent plausible: it recognizes, if only implicitly, the non-churchly, secular character of the ornament. But this ornament is also distinct from the Moorish in numberless details, which I cannot discuss here. The capitals with animals and foliage are a freer secular field of artisanship independent of the doctrine of the Church, but finally congenial to the Church in so far as its outward dress has become important. The abbey assumes a luxurious, aristocratic appearance as a great proprietor in a hierarchy of social groups of which the highest and the most closely allied, the feudal royalty, acquires at this moment a similar sumptuousness in furnishings and costume. This change corresponds not only to its royal patronage, its new wealth and standards of monastic comfort, but to the increasing elaborateness and aestheticism of liturgical life.²²³ The monks as a leisure class depend on the new hierarchical apportioning of functions in the abbey and on the division of monastic labor; the lay brethren, tenants, and slaves carry on the basic agricultural work, and the regular monks devote themselves to elaborate prayer, procession and song, as if for their own sakes, in contrast to the early Cistercians for whom the necessary participation of the monk in productive work entailed a rigorous puritanism of outward forms. In the great reliefs of Silos the naturalism and monumentality made possible by the material advances of the time assume a delicate, spiritualized, even feminine form, mobile and individualized in detail, and with a quasi-ritual regularity of grouping that resembles a native Mozarabic tradition.

The physical character and even the location of the Mozarabic and Romanesque works in Silos towards 1100 may be regarded metaphorically in judging the larger historical bases of the two styles. The Mozarabic work is a book, a product of the monastic scriptorium, an intimate work destined for the library and the readings at the services. It is traditional and native, referring to a model of the eighth century created in a primitive, medieval, conquered Spain and rarely copied beyond its borders. Its content is apocalyptic, fantastic, and exegetical, and the paintings are conceived as brilliant, but static emblems. The Romanesque work, on the contrary, is an exterior architectural sculpture, monumental, expansive, public, designed for ambulant rather than sedentary contemplation; in its stone material it constitutes a novel art, rare in Mozarabic culture, and only recently reestablished after a lapse of centuries, but an art common to western Europe. It is also international, not merely local, in its iconographic conception, its forms and verse inscriptions. In contrast to the more private, domestic, ritual character of the Mozarabic book, the sculpture is a product of lay artisanship of a high technical order and with a larger element of secular *motifs*, especially in the numerous ornamental capitals. Instead of the fantasy and abbreviated emblematic forms of the manuscript, tied literally to the text, it offers beside the exuberant inventions of the capitals, animated scenes, a cycle of epic-narrative character, with deeper reference to the mobility and concreteness of human individuals.

In the same manner we may compare the two arches of the surviving Romanesque portal of Silos, the Mozarabic comprised within the Romanesque, a subordinate doorway silhouetted abstractly against the interior of the church; and the salient Romanesque, expanded by the concentric, modeled archivolts and columns, with droll, vivacious, secular figures turned toward the spectator outside the church (Figs. 2, 3, and 33).

223. On this, see P. Justo P. de Urbel, *Los monjes españoles*, II, pp. 444 ff.

ORNAMENT

By ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

AS remarked by Clement of Alexandria, the scriptural style is parabolic, but it is not for the sake of elegance of diction that prophecy makes use of figures of speech. On the other hand, "The sensible forms [of artifacts], in which there was at first a polar balance of physical and metaphysical, have been more and more voided of content on their way down to us: so we say, 'This is an ornament' . . . an 'art form' . . . [Is the symbol] therefore dead, because its living meaning had been lost, because it was denied that it was the image of a spiritual truth? I think not" (Andrae, *Die ionische Säule, Bauform oder Symbol*, 1933, *Schlusswort*). And as I have so often said myself, a divorce of utility and meaning, concepts which are united in the one Sanskrit word *artha*, would have been inconceivable to early man or in any traditional culture.

In the present article we are not concerned with beauty, which is traditionally proportionate to the perfection of the artifact itself, and is the attractive power of this perfection, and being thus objective is dependent upon truth and not upon opinion: our concern is rather with the aesthetic view of art, and the decorative values of art, which depend on taste and liking rather than on judgment. We should distinguish accordingly between the beautiful on the one hand and the lovely, i.e., loveable or likeable, on the other,¹ bearing in mind that "the beautiful is not just what we like, for there are some who like deformities" (St. Augustine, *De Musica*, VI, 38). What we have in view is to support by the analysis of certain familiar terms and categories the proposition that our modern preoccupation with the "decorative" and "aesthetic" aspects of art represents an aberration that has little or nothing to do with the original purposes of art; to demonstrate from the side of semantics the position that has been stated by Maes with special reference to Negro art that "Vouloir séparer l'objet de sa signification sociale, son rôle ethnique, pour n'y voir, n'y admirer et n'y chercher que le côté esthétique, c'est enlever à ces souvenirs de l'art nègre leur sens, leur signification et leur raison-d'être! Ne cherchons point à effacer l'idée que l'indigène a incrustée dans l'ensemble comme dans chacun des détails d'exécution de l'objet sans signification, raison-d'être, ou vie. Efforçons nous au contraire de comprendre la psychologie de l'art nègre et nous finirons par en pénétrer toute la beauté et toute la vie" (IPEK, 1926, p. 283), and that, as remarked by Karsten, "the ornaments of savage peoples can only be properly studied in connection with a study of their magical and religious beliefs" (*ib.*, p. 164); emphasizing, however, that the application of these considerations is not merely to negro, "savage," and folk art but to all traditional arts, those for example of the Middle Ages and of India.²

1. Cf. the distinction of the "honest" from the "pleasant," the one desired for its own sake by the rational appetite and an intelligible good, the other desired for its own sake by the sensible appetite and a sensible good: that which is honest (admirable) is naturally pleasing, but not all that is pleasing is honest (St. Thomas Aquinas, *Sum. Theol.*, II-II, 145, 3, cf. I-II, 30, 1); and that of *śreyas* from *preyas*, the glorious or beautiful from the merely delectable, in *Kaṭha Up.*, II, 2.

2. As remarked by Th. W. Danzel, in a primitive culture

—by "primitive" the anthropologist often means no more than "not quite up to (our) date"—"sind auch die Kulturgebiete Kunst, Religion, Wirtschaft usw. noch nicht als selbständige, gesonderte, geschlossene Betätigungsbereiche vorhanden" (*Kultur und Religion des primitiven Menschen*, 1924, p. 7). This is, incidentally a devastating criticism of such societies as are not "primitive" and in which the various functions of life and branches of knowledge are treated as specialities, "gesondert und geschlossen" from any unifying principle.

Let us consider now the history of various words that have been used to express the notion of an ornamentation or decoration and which in modern usage for the most part import an aesthetic value added to things of which the said "decoration" is not an essential or necessary part. It will be found that most of these words which imply for us the notion of something adventitious and luxurious, added to utilities but not essential to their efficacy, originally implied a completion or fulfilment of the artifact or other object in question; that to "decorate" an object or person originally meant to endow the object or person with its or his "necessary accidents," with a view to "proper" operation; and that the aesthetic senses of the words are secondary to their practical connotation; whatever was originally necessary to the completion of anything, and thus proper to it, naturally giving pleasure to the user; until still later what had once been essential to the nature of the object came to be regarded as an "ornament" that could be added to it or omitted at will; until, in other words, the art by which the thing itself had been made whole began to mean only a sort of millinery or upholstery that covered over a body that had not been made by "art" but rather by "labor"—a point of view bound up with our peculiar distinction of a fine or useless from an applied or useful art, and of the artist from the workman, and with our substitution of ceremonies for rites.

A related example of a degeneration of meaning can be cited in our words "artifice," meaning "trick," but originally *artificium*, "thing made by art," "work of art," and our "artificial," meaning "false," but originally *artificialis*, "of or for work."

The Sanskrit word *alamkāra*³ is usually rendered by "ornament," with reference either to the rhetorical use of "ornaments" (figures of speech, assonances, kennings, etc.), or to jewelry or trappings. The Indian category of *alamkāra-sāstra*, the "Science of Poetic Ornament," corresponds, however, to the medieval category of Rhetoric or Art of Oratory, in which eloquence is thought of not as an end in itself or art for art's sake, or to display the artist's skill, but as the art of effective communication. There exists, indeed, a mass of medieval Indian poetry that is "sophistic" in Augustine's sense ("A speech seeking verbal ornament beyond the bounds of responsibility to its burden (*gravitas*) is called 'sophistic'," *De doc. christ.*, II, 31). At a time when "poetry" (*kāvya*)⁴ had to some extent become an end in itself, a discussion arose as to whether or not "ornaments" (*alamkāra*) represent the essence of poetry; the consensus being that, so far from this, poetry is distinguishable from prose (i.e., the poetic from the prosaic, not verse from prose) by its "sapidity" or "flavor" (*rasa*, *vyāñjana*, corresponding to the *sap-* in Lat. *sapientia*, wisdom, "*scientia cum sapore*"). Sound and meaning are thought of as indissolubly wedded; just as in all the other arts of whatever kind there was originally a radical and natural connection between form and significance, without divorce of function and meaning.

If we analyse now the word *alamkāra* and consider the many other than merely aesthetic senses in which the verb *alam-kṛ* is employed, we shall find that the word is composed of *alam*, "sufficient," or "enough," and *kṛ* to "make." It must be mentioned for the sake of what follows that Sanskrit *l* and *r* are often interchangeable, and that *alam* is represented

3. The present article was suggested by, and makes considerable use of, J. Gonda, *The meaning of the word "alamkāra"* in the *Volume of Eastern and Indian studies presented to F. W. Thomas*, Bombay, 1939, pp. 97-114; the same author's *The meaning of Vedic bhūṣati*, Wageningen, 1939; and "*Abharāṇa*" in the *New Indian Antiquary*, May, 1939.

4. Derivative of *kavi*, "poet." The reference of these words to "poetry" and "poet" in the modern sense is late: in Vedic contexts, *kavi* is primarily an epithet of the highest

Gods with reference to their utterance of words of creative power, *kāvya* and *kavitva* the corresponding quality of wisdom—Vedic *kavi* being therefore rather an "enchanter" than a "charmer" in the later sense of one who merely pleases us by his sweet words.

In much the same way Greek *ποίησις* originally meant a "making," so that as Plato says "The productions of all arts are kinds of poetry and their craftsmen are all poets" (*Symposium*, 205, C).

by *aram* in the older literature. Analogous to the transitive *aram-kṛ* are the intransitive *arambhū*, to become able, fit for and *aram-gam*, to serve or suffice for. The root of *aram* may be the same as that of Greek ἀπαρίσσω, to fit together, equip or furnish. *Aram* with *kṛ* or *bhū* occurs in Vedic texts in phrases meaning preparedness, ability, suitability, fitness, hence also that of "satisfying" (a word that renders *alam-kṛ* very literally, *satis* corresponding to *aram* and *facere* to *kṛ*), as in RV, VII, 29, 3 "What satisfaction (*aramkṛti*) is there for thee, Indra, by means of our hymns?" *Alam-kṛ* in the *Atharva Veda* (XVIII, 2) and in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* is employed with reference to the due ordering of the sacrifice, rather than to its adornment, the sacrifice indeed being much less a ceremony than a rite; but already in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, a "poetical" work, the word has usually the meaning to "adorn."

Without going into further detail, it can easily be seen what was once the meaning of an "adornment," viz., the furnishing of anything essential to the validity of whatever is "adorned," or enhances its effect, empowering it.

In just the same way *bhūṣaṇa* and *bhūṣ*, words that mean in Classical Sanskrit "ornament," respectively as noun and as verb, do not have this value in Vedic Sanskrit, where (like *alamkāra* etc.) they refer to the provision of whatever properties or means increase the efficacy of the thing or person with reference to which or whom they are employed:⁵ the hymns, for example, with which the deity is said to be "adorned," are an affirmation of and therefore a confirmation and magnification of the divine power to act on the singers' behalf. Whatever is in this sense "ornamented" is thereby made the more in act, and more in being. That this should be so corresponds to the root meaning of the verb, which is an extension of *bhū*, to "become," but with a causative nuance, so that, as pointed out by Gonda, *bhūṣati dyūn* in RV, X, 11, 7 does not mean "ornaments his days," but "lengthens his life," "makes more his life," cf. Skr. *bhūyas*, "becoming in a greater degree" (Pāṇini), "abundantly furnished with," and "more." *Bhūṣ* has thus the value of *vr̥dh*, to increase (trans.), Macdonell rendering the gerundives *ābhūṣenya* and *vāvr̥dhenya* both alike by "to be glorified" (*Vedic Grammar*, 580): an identical connection of ideas survives in English, where to "glorify" is also to "magnify" the Lord, and certain chants are "Magnificats." Vedic *bhūṣ* in the sense "increase" or "strengthen," and synonymous with *vr̥dh*, corresponds to the later causative *bhāv* (from *bhū*), as can be clearly seen if we compare RV, IX, 104, 1, where Soma is to be "adorned," or rather "magnified" (*pari bhūṣata*) by sacrifices, "as it were a child" (*śiṣum na*) with *Ait. Ār.*, II, 5, where the mother "nourishes" (*bhāvayati*) the unborn child, and the father is said to "support" (*bhāvayati*) it both before and after birth; bearing also in mind that in RV, IX, 103, 1 the hymns addressed to Soma are actually compared to "food" (*bhṛti*) from *bhr̥*, to "bear," "bring," "support," and that in the *Ait. Ār.* context the mother "nourishes . . . and bears the child" (*bhāvayati . . . garbham bibharti*). And insofar as *ābharāṇa* and *bhūṣaṇa* in other contexts are often "jewelry" or other decoration of the person or thing referred to, it may be observed that the values of jewelry were not originally those of "vain adornment" in any culture, but rather metaphysical or "magical."⁶ To some extent this can be recognized even at the present day: if, for example, the judge is only a judge in act when wearing his robes, if the mayor

5. The two values of *bhūṣaṇa* are found side by side in *Viṣṇudharmottara*, III, 41, 10 where outline, shading (the representation of) jewelry (*bhūṣaṇam*), and color are collectively "the ornaments (*bhūṣaṇam*) of painting," and it is clear that these "ornaments" are not a needless elaboration

of the art, but much rather the essentials or characteristics of painting, by which it is recognized as such.

6. As in AV, VI, 133, where the girdle is worn "for length of life" and invoked to endow the wearer with insight, understanding, fervor, and virility.

is empowered by his chain, and the king by his crown, if the pope is only infallible and verily pontiff when he speaks *ex cathedra*, "from the throne," none of these things are mere ornaments; but much rather an equipment by which the man himself is "mored" (*bhūyas-kṛta*), just as in AV, X, 6, 6 Brhaspati wears a jewel, or let us say a talisman, "in order to power" (*ojase*). Even today the conferring of an order is a "decoration" in the same sense: and it is only to the extent that we have learned to think of knighthood, for example, as an "empty honor" that the "decoration" takes on the purely aesthetic values that we nowadays associate with the word.

The mention of *bhr*, above, leads us to consider also the word *ābharana*, in which the root is combined with a self-referent *ā*, "towards." *Ābharana* is generally rendered by "ornament," but is more literally "assumption" or "attribute." In this sense the characteristic weapons or other objects held by a deity, or worn, are his proper attributes, *ābharanam*, by which his mode of operation is denoted iconographically. In what sense a bracelet of conch (*saṅkha*),⁷ worn for long life, etc., is an "*ābharanam*" can be seen in AV, IV, 10, where the "sea-born" shell is "fetched (*ābhṛtaḥ*) from the waters." In the same way *āhārya*, from *hr*, to "bring," with *ā* as before, means in the first place that which is "to be eaten," i.e., "nourishment," and secondly the costume and jewels of an actor, regarded as one of the four factors of dramatic expression; in the latter sense the sun and moon are called the *āhārya* of Śiva when he manifests himself on the world stage (*Abhinaya Darpaṇa*, invocatory introduction).

Returning now to *ālaṃkāra* as "rhetorical ornament," Gonda very properly asks, "Have they always been nothing but embellishments?" pointing out that very many of these so-called embellishments appear already in the Vedic texts, which, for all that, are not included in the category of poetry (*kāvya*), i.e., are not regarded as belonging to "belles lettres." Yāska, for example, discusses *upamā*, "simile" or "parable" in Vedic contexts, and we may remark that such similes or parables are repeatedly employed in the Pali Buddhist canon, which is by no means sympathetic to any kind of artistry that can be thought of as an ornamentation for the sake of ornamentation. Gonda goes on to point out, and it is incontrovertibly true, that what we should now call ornaments (when we study "the Bible as literature") are stylistic phenomena in the sense that "the scriptural style is parabolic" by an inherent necessity, the burden of scripture being one that can be expressed only by analogies: so this style had another function in the Vedic contexts "than to be nothing but ornaments. Here, as in the literature of several other peoples, we have a sacred or ritual 'Sondersprache' . . . different from the colloquial speech." At the same time, "These peculiarities of the sacral language may also have an aesthetic side . . . Then they become figures of speech and when applied in excess they become 'Spielerei'." *Ālaṃkāra*, in other words, having meant originally "made adequate," came finally to mean "embellished."

In the case of another Sanskrit word *subha*, of which the later meaning is "lovely," there may be cited the expression *subhaḥ silpīn* from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, where the reference is certainly not to a craftsman personally "handsome," but to a "fine craftsman," and likewise the well-known benediction *subham astu*, "May it be well," where *subham* is rather the "good" than the beautiful as such. In RV we have such expressions as "I furnish (*sumbhāmi*) Agni with prayers" (VIII, 24, 26), where for *sumbhāmi* might just as well have been said *ālaṃkaromi* (not "I adorn him," but "I fit him out"); and *sumbhanto* (I, 130, 6),

7. The commentators here, and on RV, I, 35, 4; I, 126, 4; and X, 68, 11 (where *kṛṣṇa*=*suvarṇa*, golden, or *suvarṇam ābharanam*, golden ornament) offer no support

whatever for the rendering of *kṛṣṇa* by "pearl-." It is, moreover, amulets of conch, and not of pearl oyster shell that have been worn in India from time immemorial.

not "adorning" but "harnessing" a horse; in J.V, 129 *alamkata* is "fully equipped" (in coat of mail and turban, and with bow and arrows and sword). In I, 130, 6, it is Indra that is "harnessed" like a steed that is to race and win a prize, and it is obvious that in such a case the aptitude rather than the beauty of the gear must have been the primary consideration, and that although the charioteer must have enjoyed at the same time the "pleasure that perfects the operation," this pleasure must have been rather in the thing well made for its purpose, than in its mere appearance; it would be only under the more-unreal conditions of a parade that the mere appearance might become an end in itself, and it is thus, in fact, that over-ornamented things are made only for show. This is a development that we are very familiar with in the history of armor (another sort of "harness"), of which the original life-saving purpose was pre-eminently practical, however elegant the resultant forms may have been in fact, but which in the end served no other purpose than that of display.

To avoid confusion, it must be pointed out that what we have referred to as the "utility" of a harness, or any other artifact, had never been, traditionally, a matter of merely functional adaptation;⁸ on the contrary, in every work of traditional art we can recognize Andrae's "polar balance of physical and metaphysical," the simultaneous satisfaction (*alam-karana*) of practical and spiritual requirements. So the harness is originally provided (rather than "decorated") with solar symbols, as if to say that the racing steed is the Sun (-horse) in a likeness, and the race itself an imitation of "what was done by the Gods in the beginning."

A good example of the use of an "ornament" not as "millinery" but for its significance can be cited in ŚB. III. 5. 1. 19-20 where, because in the primordial sacrifice the Aṅgirasas had accepted from the Ādityas the Sun as their sacrificial fee, so now a white horse is the fee for the performance of the corresponding Sadyahkri Soma-sacrifice. This white horse is made to wear "a gold-ornament (*rūkma*), whereby it is made to be of the form of, or symbol (*rūpam*) of the Sun." This ornament must have been like the golden disk with twenty-one points or rays which is also worn by the sacrificer himself and afterwards laid down on the altar to represent the Sun (ŚB. VI. 7. 1. 1-2, VII. 1. 2. 10, VII. 4. 1. 10). It is familiar that horses are even now sometimes "decorated" with ornaments of brass (a substitute for gold, the regular symbol of Truth, Sun, Light, Immortality, ŚB. VI. 7. 1. 2, etc.) of which, the significance is manifestly solar; it is precisely such forms as these solar symbols that, when the contexts of life have been secularised, and meaning has been forgotten, survive as "superstitions"⁹ and are regarded only as "art forms" or "ornaments," to be judged as good or bad in accordance, not with their truth, but with our likes or dislikes. If children have always been apt to play with useful things or miniature copies of useful things for example carts, as toys, we ought perhaps to regard our own aestheticism as symptomatic of a second childhood; *we* do not grow up.

8. "Honesty" having been identified with "spiritual (or intelligible) beauty," St. Thomas Aquinas remarks that "Nothing incompatible with honesty can be simply and truly *useful*, since it follows that it is contrary to man's last end" (*Sum. Theol.*, II-II, 145, 3 ad 3). It is the intelligible aspect of the work of art that has to do with man's last end, its unintelligible aspect that serves his immediate needs; the "merely functional" artifact corresponding to "bread alone." In other words, an object devoid of all symbolic ornament, or of which the form itself is meaningless and therefore unintelligible, is not "simply and truly *useful*," but only physically serviceable, as is the trough to the pig. Perhaps we mean this when we think of mere utili-

ties as "uninteresting," and fly for refuge to the fine or materially useless arts; it is nevertheless the measure of our unawareness that we consent to an environment consisting chiefly of *in-significant* artifacts.

9. "Superstition . . . a symbol which has continued in use after its original meaning has been forgotten . . . The best cure for that, is not misapplied invective against idolatry, but an exposition of the meaning of the symbol, so that men may again use it intelligently" (Marco Pallis, *Peaks and Lamas*, 1939, p. 379). Our contemporary culture, from the point of view of this definition, is pre-eminently "superstitious" and "unintelligent."

Enough of Sanskrit. The Greek word *κόσμος* is primarily "order" (Skr. *ṛta*), whether with reference to the due order or arrangement of things, or to the world-order ("the most beautiful order given to things by God," St. Thomas Aquinas, *Sum. Theol.*, I, 25, 6 ad 3).; and secondarily "ornament," whether of horses, women, men, or speech. The corresponding verb *κοσμέω* is to order or arrange, and secondarily to equip, adorn, or dress, or finally with reference to the embellishment of oratory. *Κόσμημα* is an ornament or decoration, usually of dress. *Κοσμητικός* is skilled in ordering, *κοσμητική* the art of dress and ornament, *κοσμητικόν* "cosmetic,"¹⁰ *κοσμητήριον* a dressing-room. *Κοσμοποίησης* is architectural ornament; hence our designation of the Doric etc. "orders." Again we see the connection between an original "order" and a later "ornament." In connection with "cosmetic" it may be remarked that we cannot understand the original intention of bodily ornaments (unguents, tattooing, jewelry, etc.) from our modern and aesthetic point of view. The Hindu woman feels herself undressed and disorderly without her jewels which, however much she may be fond of them from other and "aesthetic" points of view, she regards as a necessary equipment, without which she cannot function as a woman (from Manu, III, 55 "it appears that there existed a connection between the proper adornment of women and the prosperity of their male relatives," Gonda, *Bhāṣati*, p. 7).¹¹ To be seen without her gear would be more than a mere absence of decoration, it would be inauspicious, indecorous, and disrespectful, as if one should be present at some function in "undress," or have forgotten one's tie: it is only as a widow, and as such "inauspicious," that the woman abandons her ornaments. In ancient India or Egypt, in the same way, the use of cosmetics was assuredly not a matter of mere vanity, but much rather one of propriety. We can see this more easily, perhaps, in connection with hair-dressing (*κοσμός* and also one of the senses of *ornare*); the putting of one's hair in order is primarily a matter of decorum, and therefore pleasing, not primarily or merely for the sake of pleasing *Κοσμίξω*. "clean" and *κόσμητρον* "broom" recall the semantics of Chinese *shih* (9907) primarily to wipe or clean or be suitably dressed (the ideogram is composed of signs for "man" + "clothes"), and more generally to be decorated; cf. *hsiu* (4661), a combination of *shih* with *san* = "paint-brush," and meaning to put in order, prepare, regulate and cultivate.

The words "decoration" and "ornament," whether with reference to the embellishment of persons or of things, can be considered simultaneously in Latin and in English. *Ornare* is primarily to "fit out, furnish, provide with necessities" (Harper) and only secondarily to "embellish," etc. *Ornamentum* is primary "apparatus, accoutrement, equipment, trappings"¹² and secondarily embellishment, jewel, trinket,¹³ etc., as well as rhetorical ornament (Skr. *alamkāra*); the word is used by Pliny to render *κόσμος*. "Ornament" is primarily "any adjunct or accessory (primarily for use . . .)" (Webster): so Cooper (sixteenth century) speaks of the "tackling or ornaments of a ship," and Malory of the "ornementys of an

10. Cf. Skr. *añj*, to anoint, to shine, to be beautiful; *añjana*, ointment, cosmetic, embellishment.

11. Cf. such terms as *rakṣābhūṣaṇa*, "apotropaic amulet," *Suśruta*, I, 54, 13; *maṅgalālamkāra*, "Wearing auspicious ornaments," *Kālidāsa*, *Mālavikāgnimitra*, I, 14; and similarly *maṅgalamātrabhūṣaṇa*, *Vikramorvaṣī*, III, 12, cited by Gonda. The bow and the sword which are Rāma's equipment, and in this sense "ornaments" in the original sense of the word "are not for the sake of mere ornamentation or only to be worn" (*na . . . bhūṣaṇāya . . . na . . . ābandhanārthāya*, *Rāmāyaṇa*, II, 23, 30).

12. "Trappings," from the same root as "drape," and *drapeau*, "flag," was originally a cloth spread over the back or saddle of a horse or other beast of burden, but has ac-

quired the inferior meaning of superficial or unnecessary ornament.

13. "Trinket," by which we always understand some insignificant ornament, was originally a little knife, later carried as a mere ornament and so disparaged. We often refer to a trinket as a "charm," forgetting the connections of this word with *carmen* and "chant." The "charm" implied originally an enchantment: our words "charming" and "enchanting" have acquired their trivial and purely aesthetic values by a development parallel to that which has been discussed throughout the present article. It may be added that an "insignificant" ornament is literally one without a meaning; it is precisely in this sense that ornaments were *not* originally insignificant.

alter."¹⁴ Even now "The term 'ornaments' in Ecclesiastical law is not confined, as by modern usage, to articles of decoration or embellishment, but it is used in the larger sense of the word 'ornamentum'" (Privy Council Decision, 1857). Adornment is used by Burke with reference to the furnishing of the mind. *Decor*, "what is seemly . . . ornament . . . personal comeliness" (Harper) is already "ornament" (i.e. embellishment) as well as "adaptation" in the Middle Ages. But observe that "decor" as "that which serves to decorate; ornamental disposition of accessories" (Webster) is the near relative of "decorous" or "decent," meaning "suitable to a character or time, place and occasion" and to "decorum," i.e. "what is befitting . . . propriety" (Webster), just as κόσμημα is of κοσμιότης.

The law of art in the matter of decoration could hardly have been better stated than by St. Augustine, who says that an ornamentation exceeding the bounds of responsibility to the content of the work is sophistry, i.e. an extravagance or superfluity. If this is an artistic sin, it is also a moral sin: "Even the shoemakers' and clothiers' arts stand in need of restraint, for they have lent their art to luxury, corrupting its necessity and artfully debasing art" (St. Chrysostom, *Super Matth.* hom. 50, a med.). Accordingly, "Since women may lawfully adorn themselves, whether to manifest what becomes (*decentiam*) their estate, or even by adding something thereto, in order to please their husbands, it follows that those who make such ornaments do not sin in the practice of their art, except in so far as they may perhaps contrive what is superfluous and fantastic" (St. Thomas Aquinas, *Sum. Theol.*, II-II, 169, 2 ad 4). It need hardly be said that whatever applies to the ornamentation of persons also applies to the ornamentation of things, all of which are decorations, in the original sense of an equipment, of the person to whom they pertain. The condemnation is of an excess, and not of a richness of ornament. That "nothing can be useful unless it be honest" (Tully and Ambrose, endorsed by St. Thomas) rules out all pretentious art. The concurrence here of the laws of art with those of morals, despite their logical distinction, is remarkable.

We have said enough to suggest that it may be universally true that terms which now imply an ornamentation of persons or things for aesthetic reasons alone originally implied their proper equipment in the sense of a completion, without which satisfaction (*alam-karana*) neither persons nor things could have been thought of as efficient or "simply and truly useful," just as, apart from his attributes (*ā-bharaṇa*), Deity could not be thought of as functioning.¹⁵ To have thought of art as an essentially aesthetic value is a very modern development, and a provincial view of art, born of a confusion between the (objective)

14. "Whatever makes a thing befitting (*decentem*) is called 'decoration' (*decor*), whether it be in the thing or externally adapted to it, as ornaments of clothing and jewels and the like. Hence 'decoration' is common to the beautiful and to the apt" (Ulrich of Strassburg, *De Pulchro*, see THE ART BULLETIN, XVII, p. 44): as in the case of "the iron style that is made by the smith on the one hand that we may write with it, and on the other that we may take pleasure in it; and in its kind is at the same time beautiful and adapted to our use" (St. Augustine, *Lib. de ver. rel.*, 39), between which ends there is no conflict; cf. the style illustrated in my *Mediaeval Sinhalese Art*, fig. 129.

15. The analogy is far reaching. Whatever is unornamented is said to be "naked." God, "taken naked of all ornament" is "unconditioned" or "unqualified" (*nirguna*): one, but inconceivable. Ornamented, He is endowed with qualities (*saguna*), which are manifold in their relations and intelligible. And however insignificant this qualification and this adaptation to finite effects may be when con-

trasted with His unity and infinity, the latter would be incomplete without them. In the same way a person or thing apart from its appropriate ornaments ("in the subject or externally adapted to it") is valid as an idea, but not as species. Ornament is related to its subject as individual nature to essence: to abstract is to denature. Ornament is adjectival; and in the absence of any adjective, nothing referred to by any noun could have an individual existence, however it might be in principle. If, on the other hand, the subject is inappropriately or over-ornamented, so far from completing it, this restricts its efficiency, and therefore its beauty, since the extent to which it is in act is the extent of its existence and the measure of its perfection as such and such a specified subject. Appropriate ornament is, then, essential to utility and beauty: in saying this, however, it must be remembered that ornament may be "in the subject" itself, or if not, must be something added to the subject in order that it may fulfil a given function.

beauty of order and the (subjectively) pleasant, and fathered by a preoccupation with pleasure. We certainly do not mean to say that man may not always have taken a sensitive pleasure in work and the products of work; so far from this, "pleasure perfects the operation." We do mean to say that in asserting that "beauty has to do with cognition," Scholastic philosophy is affirming what has always and everywhere been true, however we may have ignored or may wish to ignore the truth—we, who like other animals know what we like, rather than like what we know. We do say that to explain the nature of primitive or folk art, or, to speak more accurately, of any traditional art, by an assumption of "decorative instincts" or "aesthetic purposes" is a pathetic fallacy, a deceptive projection of our own mentality upon another ground; that the traditional artist no more regarded his work with our romantic eyes than he was "fond of nature" in our sentimental way. We say that we have divorced the "satis-faction" of the artifact from the artifact itself, and made it seem to be the whole of art; that we no longer respect or feel our responsibility towards the burden (*gravitas*) of the work, but prostitute its thesis to an aisthesis; and that this is the sin of luxury.¹⁶ We appeal to the historian of art, and especially to the historian of ornament and the teacher of the "appreciation of art," to approach their material more objectively; and suggest to the "designer" that if all good ornament had in its beginning a necessary sense, it may be rather from a sense to be communicated than from an intention to please that he should proceed.

16. It may be remarked that in the animal world an excessive development of ornament usually preludes extinction ("The wages of sin is death"; sin, as always, being defined as "any departure from the order to the end").

In the preceding text, the following abbreviations have been employed: RV., Rgveda Saṁhitā; TS., Taittirīya Saṁhitā; AV., Atharva Veda Saṁhitā; SB., Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa; Ait.Ār., Aitareya Āraṇyaka; J., Jātaka.

THE FUNERARY URN OF FRANCIS I

By PAUL S. WINGERT

ONE of the more important monuments of the French Renaissance stands in the south transept of the abbey church of St.-Denis. It is the white marble Funerary Urn of Francis I (Fig. 1). When this king died at Rambouillet on March 31, 1547 he had willed his heart, brain, and entrails to the nearby abbey of Notre-Dame-des-Hautes-Bruyeres.¹ To receive these precious remains, a document dated February 19, 1550 affirms that Philibert Delorme, newly appointed architect to the king, had commissioned this monument to the sculptor Pierre Bontemps.² The documentation of the last payment for the work occurs in an account of 1556,³ indicating that it must have been finished prior to that date. The Urn remained in this church until the era of the French Revolution, when, in January, 1793, together with other important furnishings of the abbey, it was put up for sale.⁴ The bidding began at 24 livres and closed at 52 livres 11 sous, the historic work awarded at that price to citoyen Percheron, "ancien magistrat du comte de Montfort."⁵ This sale, however, seems not to have been maintained, perhaps, as Palustre suggests, by common accord, for the Urn was housed by 1796 in the choir of the abandoned abbey at Saint-Cyr, near Versailles.⁶ A letter dated April 8, 1800, from Lucien Bonaparte, Minister of the Interior, to Louvet, Prefect of the Department of Seine-et-Oise, indicates that Lenoir had been officially authorized to remove the monument from this church to the Musée des Petits-Augustins.⁷ In a reply to this communication, Louvet notified the Minister of the Interior that his wishes had been carried out, implying that Lenoir had acquired the Urn at that date.⁸ The work appears as number 539 in the 1802 publication by Lenoir of the Musée des Monuments Français,⁹ and as number 540 in a list submitted in 1816 to the Ministry, preparatory to the dispersal of his museum.¹⁰ It also appears as number 540 in two other recordings by Lenoir: in 1817 when he drew up a list of monuments destined for the abbey church of St.-Denis, and on June 4, 1818, when he records that the Funerary Urn had on that date been taken to St.-Denis.¹¹ Since the Tomb of Francis I, for which the greater part of the sculpture had been commissioned to Pierre Bontemps by Delmore, had likewise been ordered returned to this church,¹² it was perhaps only fitting that the Funerary Urn of the same king, achieved by the same artists, should find a final resting place there. It is unfortunate, however, that the latter work could not

1. Palustre, L., *La renaissance en France*, Paris, 1881, II, p. 34 and note.

2. Roy, M., *Un grand artiste de la renaissance, le sculpteur Pierre Bontemps*, in *Mémoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, 7 série, X, Paris, 1911, p. 284.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 285.

4. Palustre, L., *op. cit.*, p. 35 and note.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Inventaire général des richesses d'art de la France. Archives du Musée des Monuments Français*, Paris, 1883, première partie, I, pp. 170-172.

7. Palustre, L., *op. cit.* In this letter Louvet is asked to facilitate matters for Lenoir. In the latter's correspondence exists a letter written to Bonaparte under the date of April 1, 1800, asking for the removal of this work (see *Inventaire*

général des richesses d'art de la France, loc. cit.). All of this documentary material refutes the legend created by Lenoir and repeated by de Guilhermy and Sauvageat that he had acquired this monument for "une corde de bois."

8. Actually received by Lenoir on May 3, 1800 (cf. *Inventaire général, loc. cit.*, p. 171, note 2).

9. Lenoir, A., *Musée des Monuments Français*, III, Paris, An. X-1802, pp. 74-75.

10. *Inventaire général*, III, Paris, 1897, p. 212.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 246, 296.

12. Together with the Urn, the Tomb had been ordered to St.-Denis in a royal decree of April 24, 1816, but it was not finally returned to the abbey until May 21, 1819; cf. *Inventaire général*, III, 1897, pp. 161 (no. 95), 301 (no. 99).

have been claimed from Lenoir for the Louvre, where it certainly would have been better exhibited than it is at present in the dark transept of the church.

The funerary monument consists of two parts, the urn proper and the base or pedestal upon which it stands (Fig. 1). The entire work is of white marble, patinated by age until it now resembles old ivory. Treated with very simple architectural moldings, the plinth of the pedestal contains on its four sides carved funerary emblems, a skull in the center with bony hands and arms extending to either side. Above, a round cartouche, enframed with a strap and scroll design, ornaments each face. These are sculptured in low relief with groups personifying Astronomy, Instrumental Music, Song, and Lyric Poetry (Figs. 2-5).¹³ Over each cartouche, an inscription extols the virtues of Francis I as a patron of the arts.¹⁴ The urn proper, in the shape of a hollow vase, surmounts this base, supported by a richly molded central stem and four large carved lion claws at the angles. Directly above these claws, four oval cartouches contain low reliefs representing Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, and Geometry (Figs. 6-9). Between these cartouches rich molded decorations utilize as motifs the royal coat-of-arms of France, crown initials, salamanders in flames, masks, and draperies. Similar molded decorations appear on the rich cover of the Urn, grouped around two little genii holding inverted torches. Surmounted originally by a symbolic heart as a crowning feature,¹⁵ the monument is now topped by a finial, flanked by slender scrolls.¹⁶ With the exception of the loss of this original crowning motif, the Urn miraculously escaped any other depredations during those perilous years of the Revolution.

The contract of February 19, 1550, establishes the joint authorship of the monument and reveals many other facts attendant upon its creation. Binding both Bontemps and Delorme to the completion of this work, it is of especial interest as a legal document of the period, describing the general format of the monument, including the subject matter of the carvings and defining the position of each man with regard to it. By the terms of this commission, Bontemps was ordered to make a marble sepulcher for the heart of Francis I, consisting of a pedestal, already set up in Hautes-Bruyeres,¹⁷ and for this a hollow vase, both to be sculptured according to the general directions given, the more detailed instructions to be furnished later.¹⁸ This implies that the details had not been worked out at that time. The contract further specifies that Bontemps should do this work with the greatest possible care, and that he should see to its packing, transportation, placing, finishing, and final setting up at Hautes-Bruyeres. From these instructions it becomes evident that the work was not done at the site of the abbey, and it is logical to suppose that for this commission the sculptor used the studio he was occupying in Paris at that time, the old Hôtel d'Étampes, where he was carrying forward the work on the Tomb of Francis I.¹⁹ Moreover, for the Urn the sculptor was to supply the workmen and tools he needed. As his part of the

13. For a description of the details of this monument see Gonse, L., *La sculpture française depuis le XIV^e siècle*, Paris, 1895, pp. 98-99.

14. For these inscriptions see de Guilhermy, *Inscriptions de la France*, II, Paris, c. 1870, p. 168.

15. For an engraving of the Urn with this in place see Palustre, *op. cit.*, opp. p. 34. In 1881, Palustre says (*ibid.*, p. 35), this heart was in the possession of "M. le baron Le Prieur de Blainvilliers, rue Saint-Anastase, 3, à Paris." Gonse (*op. cit.*, p. 99) joins Palustre in the hope that some day it will be replaced in its original position.

16. This feature replaced, in recent years, the banal stylized pine-cone, which in turn had replaced the original heart motif in 1793, removed before "le Domaine" con-

sented to the sale of the monument (cf. Palustre, *op. cit.*, p. 35). (For an illustration of the pine-cone see Roy, M., *op. cit.*, Paris, 1910, pl. IV, opp. p. 284.)

17. For this pedestal the contract specifies that a "sillo-bastre aorne de quatre faces des histoires a basse taille" was to be utilized (cf. Roy, *op. cit.*, p. 335). The wording of the commission makes clear that the sculptor was to carve new reliefs on this base to replace these older ones.

18. "comme il sera dit et ordonne aud. Bontemps . . ." (cf. Roy, *op. cit.*, p. 336).

19. The Hôtel d'Étampes was given to Delorme late in 1547 for a period of six years, to serve as a studio in which to do the Tomb (cf. Clouzot, H., *Philibert Delorme*, Paris, c. 1910, p. 48 and note 3).



FIG. 1—Paris, St.-Denis: Funerary Urn for Heart of Francis I, by
Pierre Bontemps



FIG. 2—*Astronomy, from Funerary Urn for Heart of Francis I, by Pierre Bontemps*



FIG. 3—*Instrumental Music, from Funerary Urn for Heart of Francis I, by Pierre Bontemps*



FIG. 4—*Song, from Funerary Urn for Heart of Francis I, by Pierre Bontemps*



FIG. 5—*Lyric Poetry, from Funerary Urn for Heart of Francis I, by Pierre Bontemps*

contract, Delmore assured Bontemps of 250 crowns, as payment for the work, at the rate of 46 sous to the crown,²⁰ and also agreed to supply him with marble, wagons, and crates.

Although, in accordance with the practice of the period, the contract specified explicitly the work desired, the phraseology does not make clear from which artist the design originated. The position of Delorme as architect to the king adds weight to the interpretation that the design originated with him, but the wording of the contract implies that the sculptor and the architect must have previously met and discussed the work.²¹ That these discussions influenced the design appears very probable, when consideration is given to the importance of Bontemps as a sculptor at that time, and to his background, which made the commissioning to him of a work of this sort a logical choice.

Listed in the royal accounts for the years 1536-1540 as one of the assistants of Primaticcio on the stucco work at Fontainebleau, Pierre Bontemps appears in his earliest known work as an associate of Italian artists at the important fountainhead of sixteenth century Italian influence in France.²² It was here no doubt that Delorme first became acquainted either with the sculptor or with his work. The architect must have been impressed with his ability, since in 1549 and subsequent years he granted Bontemps commissions for the important Tomb of Francis I, Delorme's first significant royal work.²³ The fact that Bontemps was chosen for this commission proves that he must have been at that time one of the important French sculptors. Furthermore, his familiarity with the Fontainebleau style must also have worked in his favor, since the specifications in the contract show that in general format and subject matter the Italianate manner was desired. This style had, by the middle of the sixteenth century, achieved such vogue at the court and among the nobility that, when Delorme received the request to supply the Urn, the nature of the style desired may well have been specified. On the other hand, the architect would probably have selected this style by personal preference.²⁴ The selection of Bontemps to carry out the work, however, was both reasonable and natural, especially since he was at that time under contract to Delorme, engaged upon the Tomb of Francis I. Because of the sculptor's knowledge of the Fontainebleau style, it seems unlikely, therefore, that, during the precontract discussions of the Urn, the design should have originated entirely with Delorme. It appears more reasonable to suppose that it derived in part from both men; but the discovery of additional documents is necessary to determine the contributions made by each.²⁵ There can be no question, however, as to the source for the style of this monument.

In subject matter, composition, and technique the eight cartouche reliefs show the fa-

20. The payments were to be made through Simon Goille, royal treasurer of petty cash, as soon as the work was done. A second document under the same date, February 19, 1550, states that Goille made on that day an advance payment to Bontemps of 100 crowns toward the work (cf. Roy, *op. cit.*, p. 336).

21. The opening words of the contract read: "Pierre Bontemps, sculpteur, demourant à Paris, confesse avoir fait marche et convenant avec noble et discrete personne Mre. Philbert de Lorme, abbe d'Ivry, conseiller aulmosnier et architecte du Roy . . ." (cf. Roy, *op. cit.*, p. 336).

22. Of his work at Fontainebleau, the only extant decorations upon which he was engaged are those of the chimney in the Queen's Chamber (Fig. 16), and of these the lower part date from the nineteenth century (cf. de Laborde, L. E., *La renaissance des arts à la cour de France*, I, Paris, 1850, pp. 396-400; Dimier, L., *Le Primatice*, Paris, 1928, p. 7).

23. Bontemps' commissions for work on the Tomb were: February 4, 1549 (in collaboration with François Marchand); April 13, 1551, and October 6, 1552 (cf. Roy, *op. cit.*, pp. 278, 286-287, 327-328, 337, 345).

24. From 1533 to 1536 Delorme was in Italy studying the remains of ancient architecture: he did some digging and examined fragments, but mostly applied himself to the measuring of monuments still standing. This experience resulted from and must certainly have increased his interest in classical art. Furthermore, as "architect to the king" from April 3, 1548, to July 12, 1559, Delorme functioned as a dictatorial superintendent of all royal buildings except the Louvre. Thus he was in close contact with the work at Fontainebleau as it progressed during those years (cf. Clouzot, H., *op. cit.*, pp. 29-39; 47-54).

25. Maurice Roy suggests that perhaps the entire design for this work was dictated by the invention of Bontemps (*op. cit.*, p. 284).

miliarity of the sculptor with contemporary Italian style. Three of the reliefs of the base represent Muses;²⁶ the fourth one and the four of the vase above depict Arts. Characteristic of the Italian Renaissance, this type of allegorical and mythological subject matter had been brought to France some years earlier by Il Rosso and Primaticcio,²⁷ appearing first in the Gallery of Francis I at Fontainebleau,²⁸ and figuring prominently there in practically all of the subsequent designs.²⁹ The treatment of these themes at Fontainebleau involved a type of decoration characteristic of this Italian-French atelier, namely, the use of fresco painting within a richly molded stucco frame, in this way combining a pictorial with a plastic technique. Both the subject matter and technique soon spread beyond the confines of Fontainebleau.

Perhaps the most important example of this was a series of eight oval medallions, probably painted by Primaticcio shortly after 1546, for the Chambre des Arts in the Château at Ancy-le-Franc. The subjects of these paintings were Logic, Rhetoric, Physics, Geometry (Fig. 10), Arithmetic, Grammar, Astronomy, and the Muses.³⁰ These medallions are not only important because they include three of the subjects later to be used for the Urn, but also because they preserve to a far higher degree than at Fontainebleau their original design and quality.³¹ In these Franco-Italian paintings a preference for triangular composition predominates: the apex of the triangle is placed in a plane some degrees back of the front plane of the panel; and the aerial perspective helps to create the illusion of space (Figs. 10 and 11). Frequently, this triangular arrangement has an architectural background, composed by means of linear perspective, thus increasing the sense of depth. Together with the use of perspective, other familiar Italian technical devices were employed to achieve these effects, such as, foreshortening, contrapposto, and the use of many closely impinging planes gradually receding into the background. All of these Italianate characteristics are clearly evident in the relief sculpture of the Urn.

Set within a wide frame and carved in low relief, the eight cartouches show by composition and style their relationship to the Fontainebleau manner. Moreover, the actual cutting of the marble achieves results reminiscent of the small molded stucco reliefs used there as wall decorations incidental to the painted fresco panels (Figs. 15 and 16, and see Kusenberg, K., *Le Rosso*, Paris, 1921, pl. xxxii ff.). The round reliefs of the base especially signify this relationship in the soft, fluid treatment in the outlining of form, used in an attempt to define roundness and carried over from a more facile medium such as stucco modeling (Figs. 2-5). Also indicative of the influence of such a medium is the pictorial character of the panels—the desire for background and setting through perspective, shallow planes, and stacciato technique, a type of design more appropriate to painting than to sculpture. Two of them, however, Instrumental Music and Lyric Poetry (Figs. 3 and 5) have conspicuously plain, flat backgrounds. Although here the modeling likewise suggests a more facile medium, the results attain a clarity approaching a cameo. This impression is partly

26. See above.

27. Il Rosso arrived in 1531, and Primaticcio the following year.

28. The greater part of this gallery was by Il Rosso, only two of its fifteen large panels having been finished after his death by Primaticcio (cf. Dimier, L., *French Painting in the Sixteenth Century*, London, 1904, pp. 76-81).

29. Especially in the smaller panels in the following important decorations of Primaticcio: the Chamber of the Duchess d'Étampes, the Gallery of Ulysses, and the Gallery of Henry II (cf. Dimier, L., *op. cit.*, pp. 100-103, 150-160).

30. Dimier, L., *Le Primatice*, Paris, 1928, pp. 86-87, 383-384. For a reproduction of the Muses panel cf. Dimier,

L., *French Painting in the Sixteenth Century*, opp. p. 88.

31. Of the more important decorations at Fontainebleau, the frescoes of the Gallery of Francis I, and those of the Chamber of the Duchess d'Étampes and of the Gallery of Henry II have been completely repainted several times, while the famous Gallery of Ulysses was destroyed in the eighteenth century. Fortunately, it was the custom at the time to make an engraving of each work as it was being painted, and the preservation of many of these, together with preparatory drawings made by the painters, makes it possible to judge the original design of these frescoes (cf. Dimier, L., *op. cit.*, pp. 78, 100, 150, 159-160; and cf. Figs. 11 and 13).



FIG. 6—*Architecture, from Funerary Urn for Heart of Francis I, by Pierre Bontemps*



FIG. 7—*Sculpture, from Funerary Urn for Heart of Francis I, by Pierre Bontemps*



FIG. 8—*Painting, from Funerary Urn for Heart of Francis I, by Pierre Bontemps*



FIG. 9—*Geometry, from Funerary Urn for Heart of Francis I, by Pierre Bontemps*



FIG. 10—*Ancy-le-Franc: Geometry, fresco from Chambre des Arts in Chateau, attributed to Primaticcio*



FIG. 11—*Fontainebleau, Chateau: Education of Achilles, fresco, with stucco decoration, from Gallery of Francis I, done under direction of Il Rosso*

achieved by the effectiveness of the neutral ground, but chiefly by the clear cutting of the outlines. Together with several jewel-like works which he did at Fontainebleau, these two reliefs strengthen the possibility that Bontemps may have had an early training in gem-cutting.³² All of the reliefs of the Urn have something of this quality in the crisp, clear outlines of the figures.

These four cartouches of the base were probably carved first. They show a more obvious compositional arrangement, a greater crowding of planes, and a less successful handling of background, contrapposto, and foreshortening than the carvings of the vase above. The Lyric Poetry relief has the simplest, clearest design (Fig. 5). Arranged in gradually receding planes, which are placed at about twenty degrees diagonally to the front plane, the three seated figures form a triangular composition of the type frequently used in late fifteenth and early sixteenth century Italian painting.³³ The use of contrapposto appears in the lightly draped musician to the left in the front plane, and in the figure to the right in the second plane, through the turning of the shoulders sharply to their right. Each figure is facing the one directly in front of it, thus the spectator is led into the composition by two intersecting diagonals. Similar designs appear in the Fontainebleau frescoes and in those at Ancy-le-Franc (Figs. 10, 11). The same general arrangement was followed in all four cartouches of the base, although in Instrumental Music it appears less obviously, due to the use of five instead of three figures and three in place of two intersecting diagonals. Of slightly smaller scale than in the Lyric Poetry panel, the female figures in all of the base reliefs follow the proportions of Fontainebleau, with small heads and elongated forms, generally high-waisted and long-legged. These proportions clearly show the relationship of this style to contemporary sixteenth century Italian work of the Mannerist style which was brought to France by Il Rosso and Primaticcio (Fig. 14). On the other hand, in the Astronomy relief (Fig. 2) the heavily muscled male figures, with vigorously molded heads and intense expressions, reflect the mannered style of Michelangelo, brought to Fontainebleau especially by Il Rosso (Figs. 11, 15).³⁴ This cartouche and that of Song (Fig. 4) differ from the other two of the base by employing architectural and landscape settings. In the case of the latter, part of a tree appears at the left edge of the relief, while a balustrade separates the three figures from an architectural background treated in perspective. This consists of a fragmentary building, directly in the center of the panel, with an Italian Renaissance pedimented window, and to the right of it, a gateway cut by a plain horizontal cornice and a rusticated archway. A like treatment of background prevailed at Fontainebleau and also in the Ancy-le-Franc paintings (Figs. 10, 11).³⁵ In the Astronomy relief, however, the architectural background is minimized in favor of a landscape, which is more in keeping with the subject matter. Here, slightly to the left of the center in the middle distance, the side of a building appears, imperfectly treated in perspective, while still further to the left can be seen part of a pedimented, rusticated doorway. The landscape presents a hilly, lumpy, terrain, with part of a huge gnarled tree in the upper right corner. The table around

32. Between 1540 and 1549 documents show that he was engaged at Fontainebleau upon repairing certain little coral figures and "plusieurs tableaux de courail" intended by the king for his cabinet. Although probably an extra commission, it is highly improbable that a work of such nature would have been entrusted to an inexperienced craftsman. This suggests that Bontemps may have had such experience—probably as a gem-cutter (cf. de Laborde, L. E., *op. cit.*, p. 430; id., *Les comptes de bâtiments du roi*, I, Paris, 1877, p. 203).

33. Several examples of this type of design were at that time in the royal collection of Francis I, notably, Leonardo

da Vinci's *Virgin of the Rocks* and Andrea del Sarto's *Holy Family*, both canvases now in the Louvre. Paintings by Sebastiano del Piombo and Bronzino, and tapestries from designs by Giulio Romano, also in the king's collection, had similar design (cf. Dimier, L., *op. cit.*, p. 53-58, 64-69).

34. The heroic scale and monumental character of his conceptions; emphasis on heavy forms, exaggeration of posture, distortion of facial features—all to achieve a force and vigor of expression; etc.

35. Cf. also in Kusenbergh, K., *Le Rosso*, Paris, 1931, pl. li, lii; and Dimier, *Le Primatice*, pl. ix, xxx.

which the three figures are grouped represents still another device to gain depth and space for the composition. As well as a greater preoccupation with perspective effects, this cartouche and that of Song exhibit more violent contrapposto, such as twisting a figure on axis to such an extent that the back appears to the spectator, thus imparting greater three-dimensional reality—a figure turning in space. Similar devices were familiar to the artists of the Fontainebleau School (Figs. 10, 11).³⁶

In composition and technique, therefore, these four reliefs of the pedestal show their derivation from the Fontainebleau atelier. But the apparent gaucherie with which the sculptor handles perspective and foreshortening produces figures with deformed parts, so placed in shallow planes as to create the effect of crowding, and even, in some cases, of confusion. Hence, it is apparent that the sculptor imperfectly understood the *stiacciato* technique.

The unsuccessful attempt to use Italian technical methods appears more marked in the four cartouches of the vase (Figs. 6–9). In general, they display a more developed type of composition, with a bolder handling of space through a more complicated treatment of architectural and landscape backgrounds. Employing male subjects entirely in these representations of the arts, the sculptor adheres to a triangular placing of the figures, similar to that which he used in the panels of the base. Two of the vase reliefs, Geometry (Fig. 9) and Sculpture (Fig. 7) are, in composition, close to the Astronomy (Fig. 2) of the base. In all, a rectangular table, treated with simple Renaissance moldings, is used to separate the figures into their respective planes and to give depth and space. The triangular design is a bit less obvious in Geometry, and in both of these vase panels Bontemps felt a little more confident in handling forms turning in space: thus in the figure at the left he shows the lower part as a single leg seen in profile in the one case and as foreshortened in the other, rather than tilting the lower half to expose the actual space occupied, as he does in the figure to the left in Astronomy. His perspective in the treatment of the tables, however, is still inaccurate by Italian standards; rather, they are conceived, curiously enough, in the oriental fashion, with the back edge tilted and wider than the front edge nearer the spectator. The most successfully handled table or pedestal is that upon which the globe of the world rests in the Geometry relief.

In the other two reliefs of the vase the compositional arrangement differs considerably from that of the six cartouches of the monument so far considered. The artist here utilized to a greater degree, in working out his design, the oval shape of the panel. Still following a triangular arrangement, he has so placed his figures in Painting (Fig. 8) that the broadest side of the triangle no longer faces the spectator but moves into the depth of the panel at about eighty degrees to the front plane. Hence the apex of the triangle, formed by the artist's model, recedes into the middle distance. As a result, the figure of the painter is more clearly emphasized as the principle subject of the relief. Although resulting from a different compositional arrangement, this is likewise true of the figure to the left in the foreground plane of Architecture (Fig. 6). Here, the long side of the triangle extends at an angle of about twenty-five degrees from the foreground figure to the two forms under the archway in the middle distance, and from there the second arm of the triangle extends back into space to its apex, marked by the two masons and the crane, while the third side completes the triangle by following in a direct line to the foreground figure. This composition is the most ambitious, in its creation of space and adapting of the design to fill it.

36. Cf. also Dimier, *op. cit.*, pl. x, xiv, and Kusenberg, *op. cit.*, pls. xxxiii, xxxv, xxxviii.



FIG. 12—Paris, St.-Denis: Detail of relief from Tomb of Francis I, by Pierre Bontemps



FIG. 13—Paris, Ecole des Beaux-Arts: Education of Achilles, drawing for fresco in Gallery of Francis I, Fontainebleau, by Il Rosso

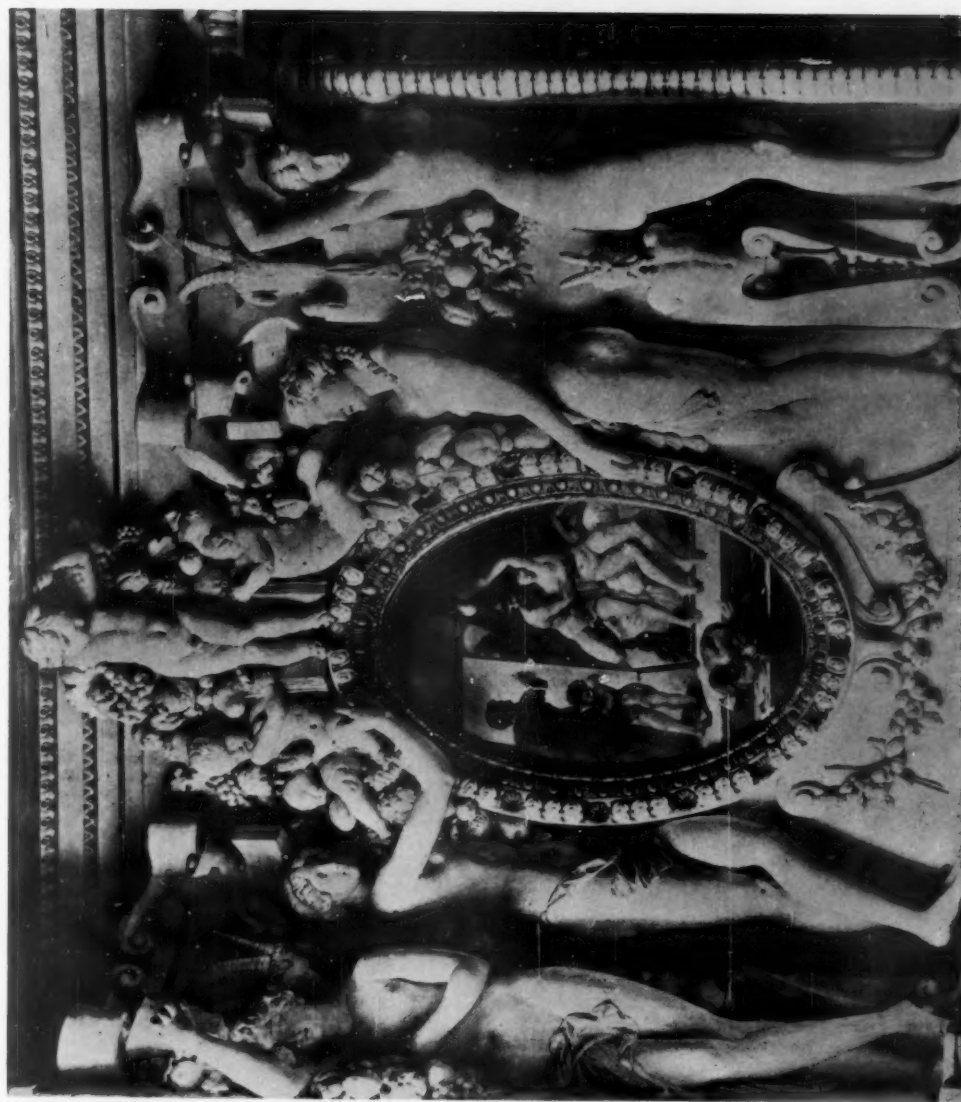


FIG. 14—Fontainebleau, Chateau: Apelles painting Campaspe, oval fresco with stucco decoration, in Chamber of Madame d'Etampes, done under direction of Primaticcio

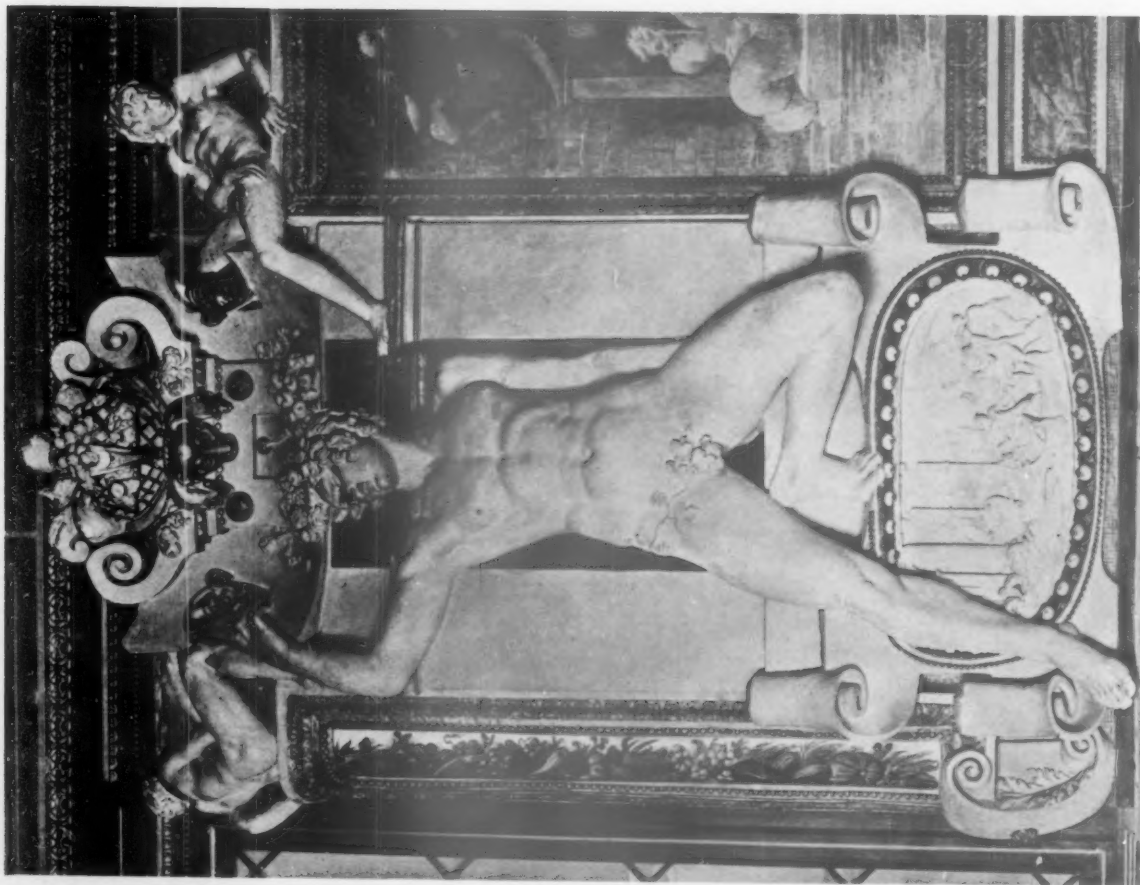


FIG. 15—Fontainebleau, Chateau: detail of stucco decoration in Gallery of Francis I, done under direction of Il Rosso

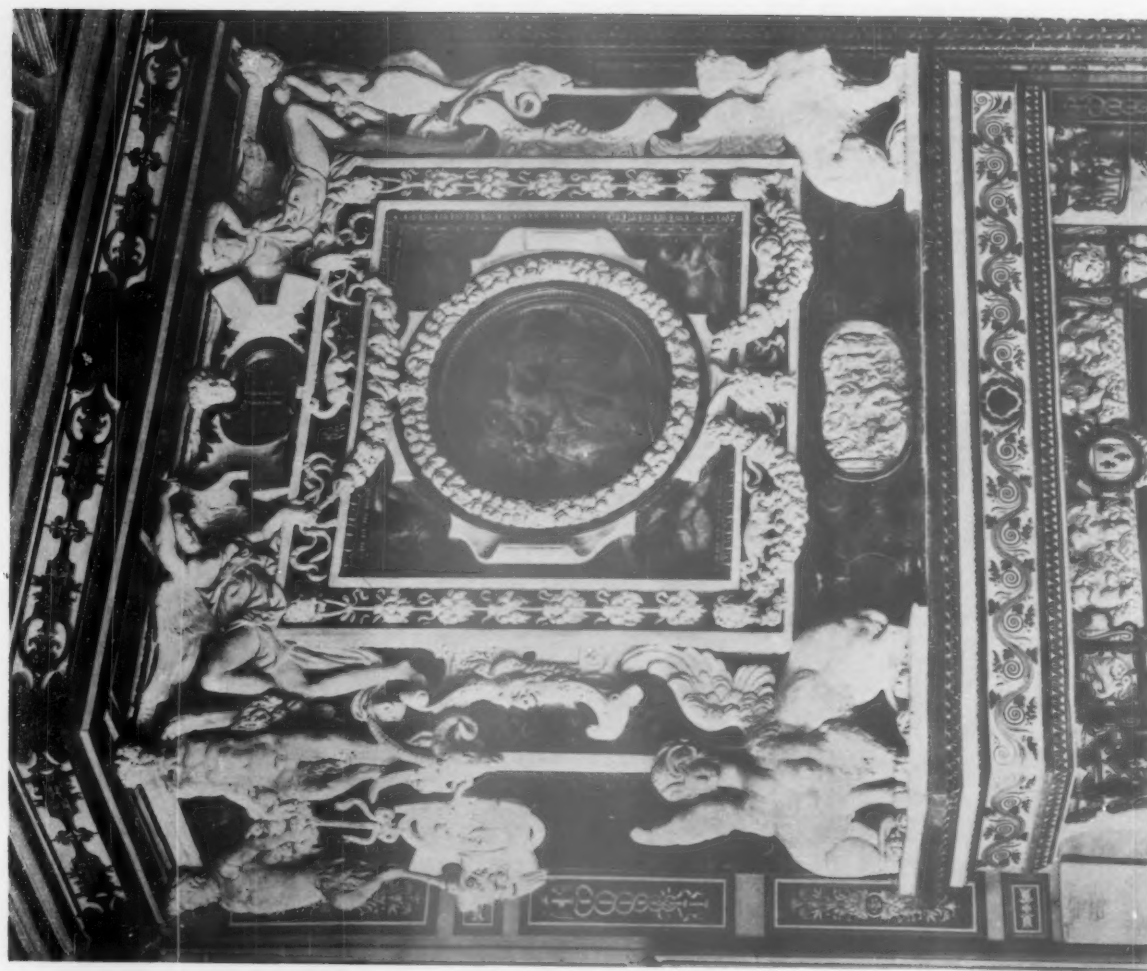


FIG. 16—Fontainebleau, Chateau: Stucco and fresco decoration for Chimney, Queen's Chamber, done under direction of Primaticcio

With the exception of Sculpture, all of the vase reliefs contain spatial background vistas. These are not too successfully treated, however, due to the inability of the sculptor to handle perspective and *stiacciato*, a deficiency which results in planes awkwardly set back in space—thus producing generally, as in Architecture, a total lack of an effective middle distance. As an example, in Geometry the architectural and landscape background is so rendered as to impinge on the space occupied by the figures. A similar deficiency also appears in Painting.

Other evidences of Italian influence are indicated by the use of the nude (especially in the reliefs of the base) and by the appearance of fragmentary ancient statues as subject matter—such as the headless and armless nude female statue in the Sculpture panel and the male statue in Painting. This interest in classic art manifested itself in 1540, when Francis I dispatched Primaticcio to Rome to bring back copies of ancient statues.³⁷ Prior to their casting in bronze at Fontainebleau, Bontemps was engaged to make certain repairs to the models, damaged in transportation from Italy.³⁸ Hence the sculptor became directly familiar with copies of ancient statues.

While the adapted ancient and contemporary costumes of the figures on the Urn further testify to the growing influence of classical art in France, nevertheless the character of the architectural backgrounds shows undeniably the familiarity of the designer with contemporary Italian buildings. Much of this knowledge either Bontemps or Delorme could have acquired from personal contacts with the Italian architect Serlio, who had been at Fontainebleau under Francis I as "architect to the king."³⁹ On the other hand, the settings of the Painting and Architecture panels must have developed at least under specific instructions from Delorme. Thus in the Painting relief the principle subject is represented as copying an ancient statue, surrounded by debris and ruins of ancient, classical architecture, such as Delorme had seen and measured during his stay in Rome;⁴⁰ while in the other panel various architectural details are scattered about a building represented in the background as in the course of construction. All architectural structures in these reliefs are free interpretations of Renaissance designs and are often of fragmentary nature, a common treatment of like details in sixteenth century painting, due to the influence of classical architectural ruins.

In iconography, composition, and technical methods, therefore, these sculptures reveal the familiarity of Delorme and Bontemps with the Italianate Fontainebleau manner. The inability of the sculptor to handle successfully the Italian technical methods appears clearly in an incorrect perspective, in an awkward treatment of *contrapposto*, and in an inability to coordinate *stiacciato* relief in backgrounds with higher relief in foreground planes. But in spite of Italian devices, these reliefs reveal the characteristics of a personal style. This appears especially in the sculptor's feeling for and treatment of form. Although it is obvious, as has been pointed out above, that in proportions and modeling his female figures are of the manneristic Primaticcio type and that his male figures, short and heavy, are reminiscent of the Il Rosso Michelangelesque style, nevertheless the latter are strongly outlined and heavily modeled in order to bring out the rounded quality of the parts and to attain a plastic feeling and an articulation of form. These male forms, however, usually display the difficulties Bontemps had with the proportioning of parts, especially the necks, which are often too short and thick, as for instance in the figures in the middle distance of Painting,

37. These included the Vatican Ariadne, Commodus as Hercules, Tiber, Apollo Belvedere, Venus of Cnidus, Laocoon, and reliefs from the Column of Trajan. Altogether casts of about 125 objects were brought back (cf. Dimier, *Le Primatice*, Paris, 1900, pp. 58-59).

38. He repaired the right foot of the Tiber, the Laocoon,

and one of the arms of the Apollo Belvedere (cf. de Laborde L. E., *La renaissance des arts à la cour de France*, I, Paris, 1850, p. 416).

39. Clouzot, H., *op. cit.*, p. 52.

40. See note 24.

where they appear to be deformed and neckless.⁴¹ The heads, however, are strongly plastic, with the bony structure and its articulation well expressed. In his treatment of draperies and costumes he displays breadth and simplicity, and in none of the Urn reliefs do the details detract from the more predominant importance of the forms. Also peculiar to his manner is his handling of the features of male figures, where, through the placing and cutting of the eyes, there exists a tragic, intense expression, as in the figures of Il Rosso. In general, there results from Bontemps' manner a dignity and impressiveness of form in the reliefs, and a plastic quality which predominates over the pictorial settings. From his style in these cartouches, therefore, and from his familiarity with the new Italian devices it becomes apparent why Delorme commissioned Bontemps to do this important work.

More clearly than the reliefs, the decorative details of this monument show the influence of the sculptor's early training in a stucco technique. On each face of the base the cartouche is enframed by a wide, flat molding terminating in a scroll at either side, and flanked by half heads in profile. This in turn is enclosed within a square by a strap molding, decorated at the four corners by a scroll and at top and bottom by a conch shell. The molded character of the decoration, especially in the handling of the scrolls, is closer to that of the facile stucco technique of the Fontainebleau School than to a more plastic marble-cutting technique. Even more similar to such a manner are the rich decorations of the vase above. Between the four carved lion claws, the vase rests on a stem richly decorated with freely interpreted classical moldings. Directly above and below each oval cartouche is a carved mask, while between them an escutcheon with the salamander in flames under a crown is separated by a small lion head from a shield with the coat-of-arms of France. The crisp treatment of all of this detail, as well as its molded character testifies to its close relationship with a stucco technique. With the exception of the modern finial and scrolls, the decorative details of the cover, which surround the seated small genii, repeat in general the character of the decorations below and complete the monument.

From the historical viewpoint, the essential importance of this funerary monument lies in the fact that, through documentation, the names of its artists are known, and that through the style of the work and the association of its authors with the Fontainebleau atelier it is here possible to trace the extent and character of Italian influence at the time in France. For this purpose, it offers constant factors: a style documented to specific artists, and a confirmation of the source from which this manner originated; and through these, furthermore, it offers valuable aid in determining possible attributions of important undocumented monuments. Moreover, it shows how, in the midst of strong Italianate influences, a French sculptor retained an indigenous, almost intangibly French quality in his style, giving to his conceptions naturalistic vigor and idealistic refinement and delicacy. Thus, in spite of the generally derivative character of his style as it appears here, Bontemps clearly belongs to that transitional period of French sculpture, the middle of the sixteenth century, which bridges the gap between late fifteenth century Gothic style and the codified, academic manner of the seventeenth century, and which developed under the strong influence of contemporary North Italian style, then current at Fontainebleau. Of this period, the Funerary Urn is especially significant through its derivation from an important architect and sculptor, and through its association with the most important atelier of its time.

41. This same deficiency appears repeatedly in his reliefs for the Tomb of Francis I (Fig. 12) and perhaps resulted from his preference for heavy, plastic figures in which he did not wish to reduce this effect by giving a more complete

articulation between the head and shoulders (for further illustrations of these Tomb reliefs, cf. Marcou, F., *Album du musée de sculpture comparée, XVIe siècle*, Paris, n.d., pl. 56).

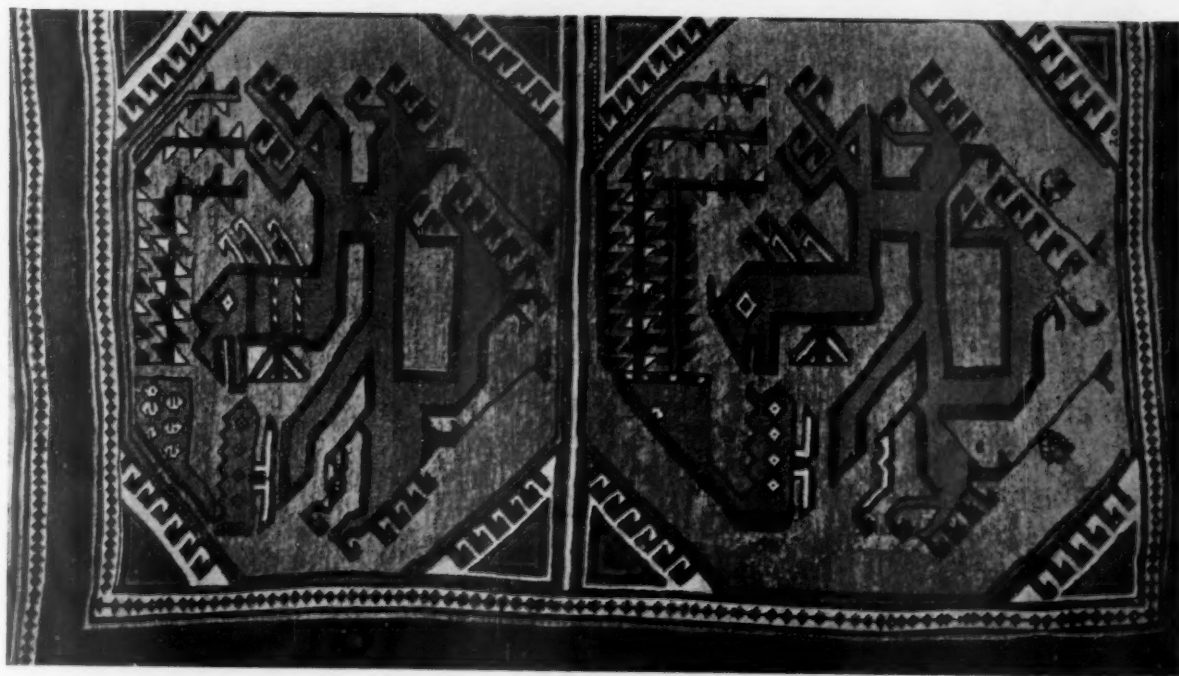


FIG. 2—Berlin, Staatliche Museen: "Dragon and Phoenix" Rug

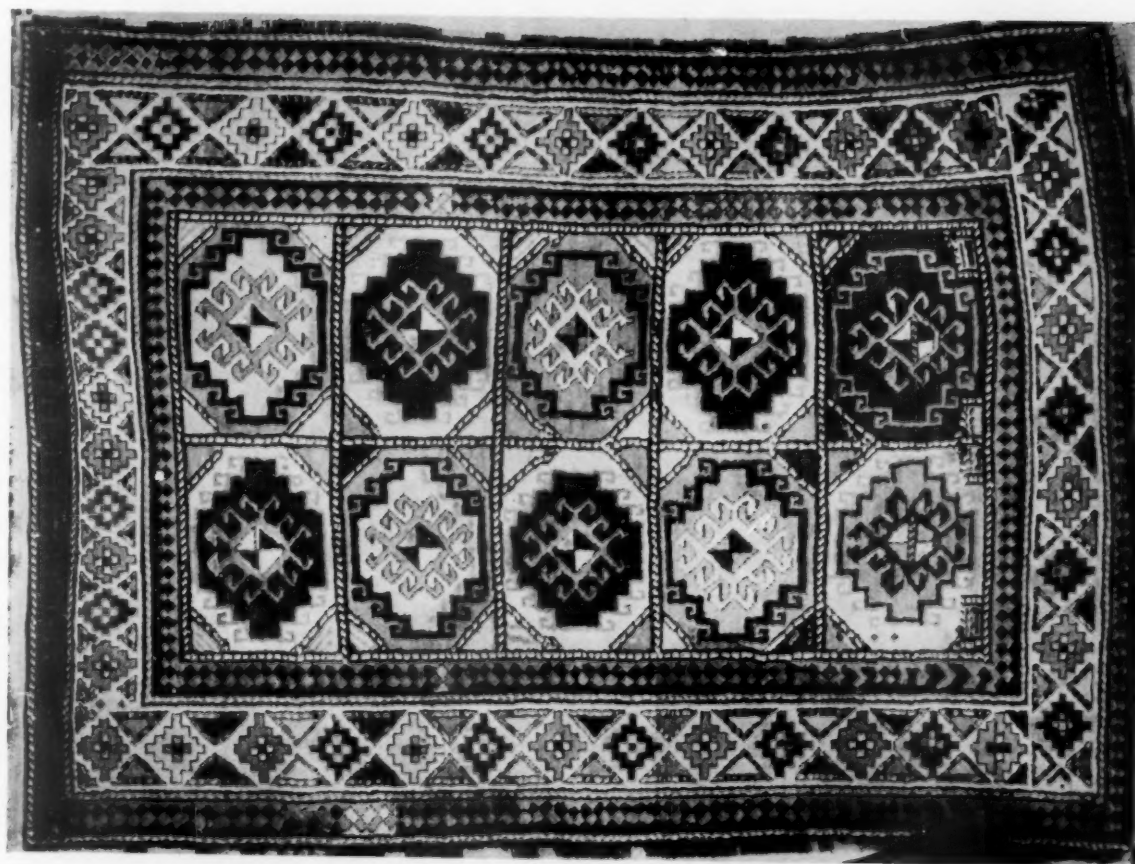


FIG. 1—Garden City, Collection of A. B. Thacher: 19th Century Kazak Rug



FIG. 3—*Vienna, Imperial Palace (formerly)*
Virgin and Child, by Memling

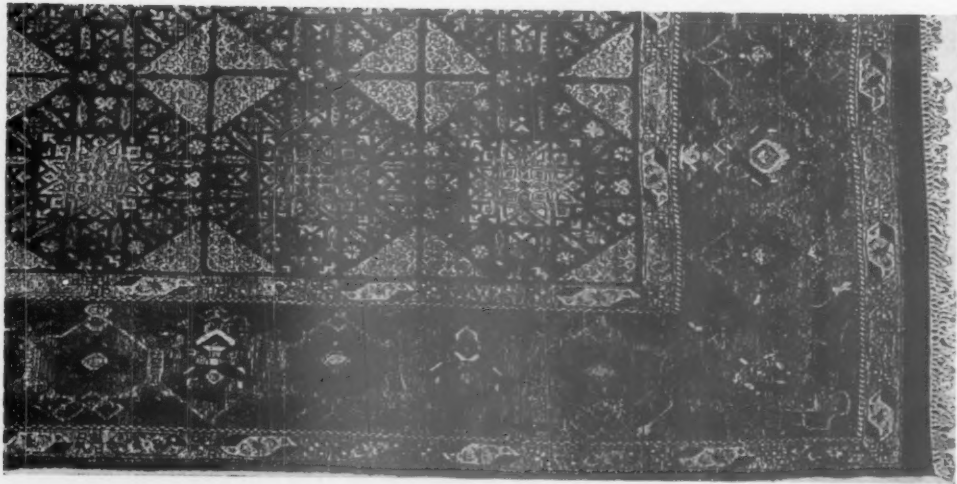


FIG. 4—*Berlin, Staatliche Museen:*
So-Called Cairene Rug

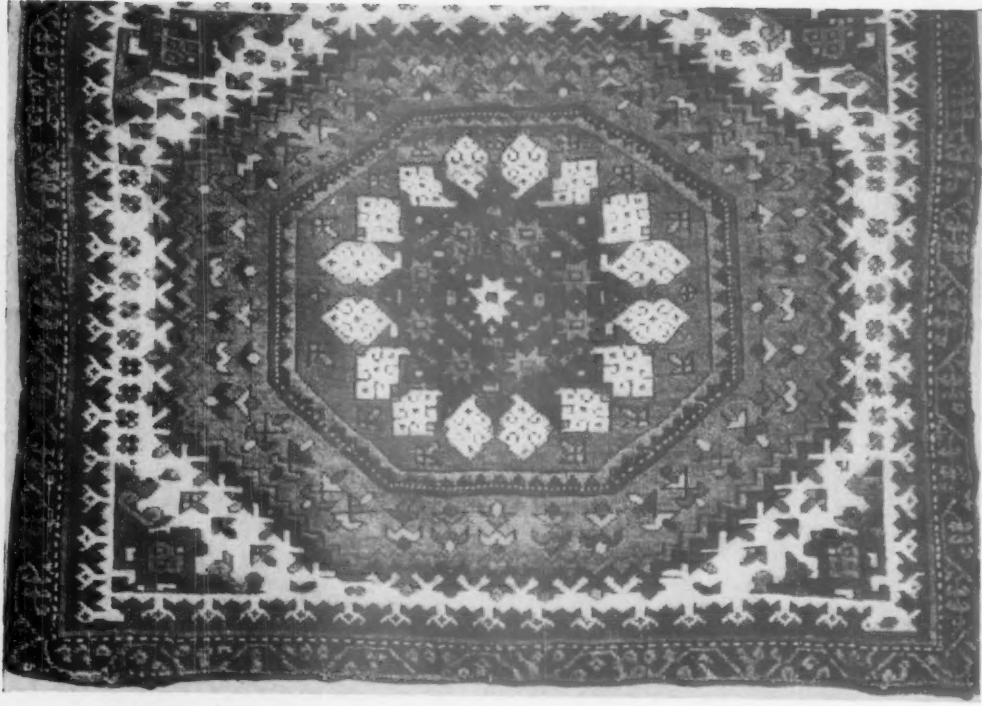


FIG. 5—*Berlin, Staatliche Museen: Anatolian Rug*
with Geometrical Pattern



FIG. 7—New York, Metropolitan Museum:
Nineteenth Century Anatolian Rug

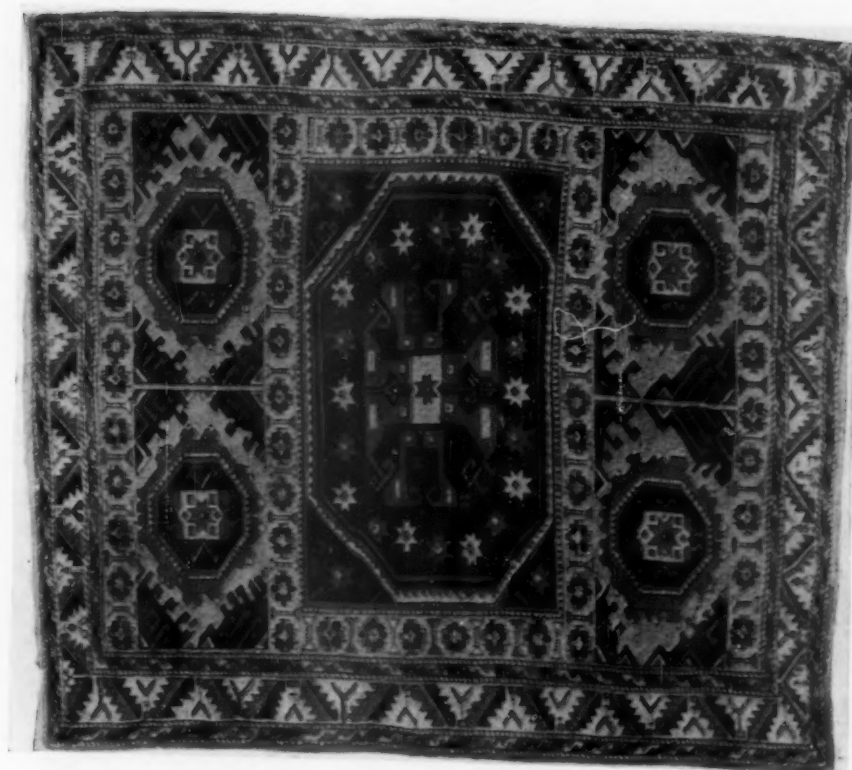


FIG. 6—Eighteenth or Early Nineteenth Century
Anatolian Rug

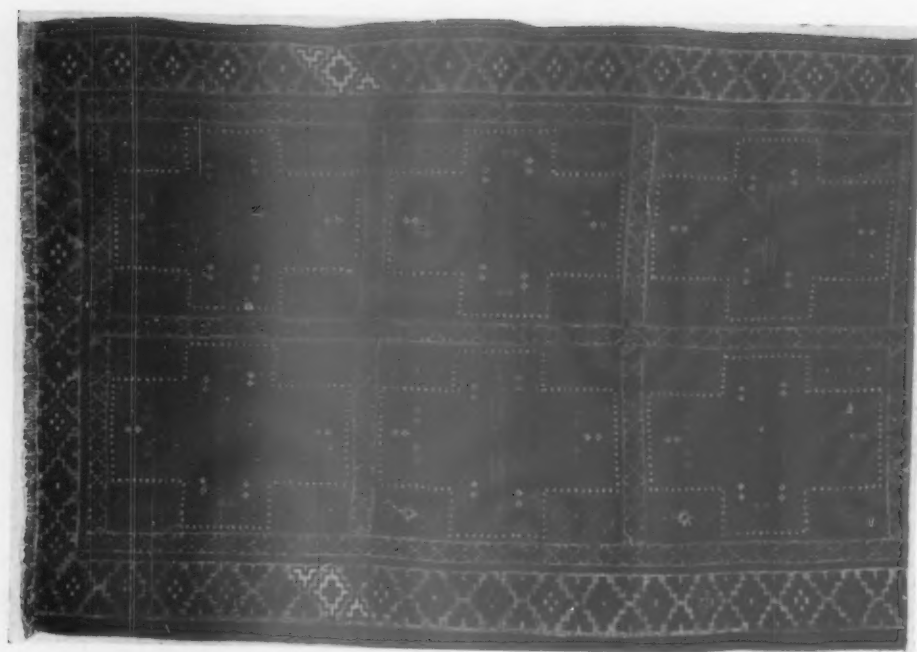


FIG. 9—*Kirghiz Rug*

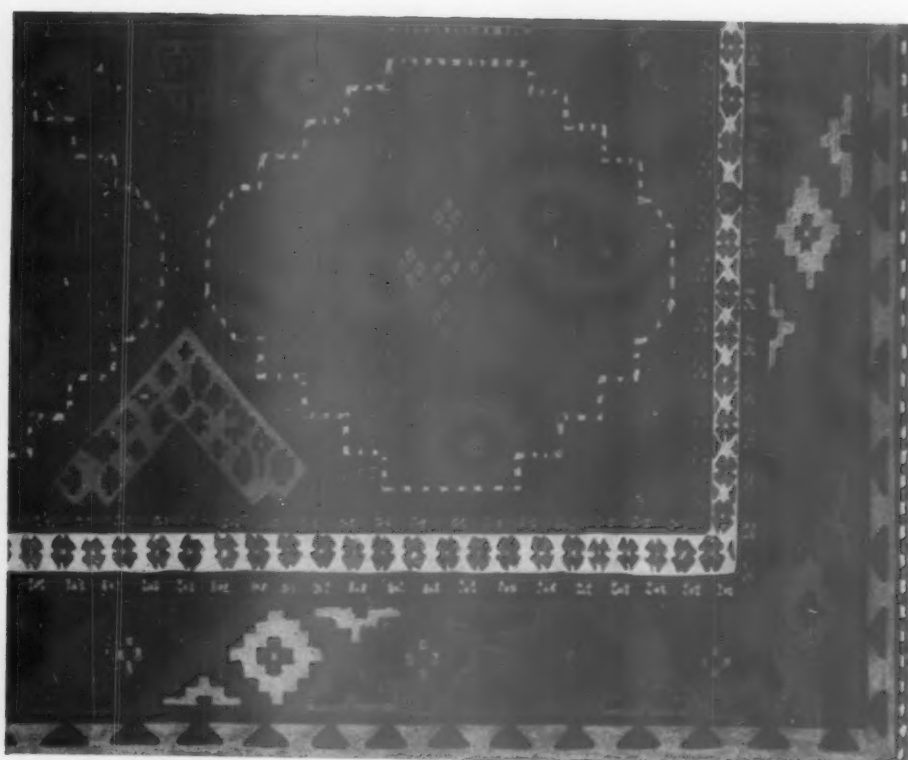


FIG. 8—*Kirghiz Rug*

NOTES AND REVIEWS

FIFTEENTH CENTURY DESIGN IN A NINETEENTH CENTURY RUG

BY AMOS B. THACHER¹

Figure 1 shows a Kazak rug (5'10"×4'2") woven probably in the third quarter of the nineteenth century. The pattern, executed in the vividly virile colors characteristic of this group of rugs, is simplicity itself, but holds, nevertheless, much interest for the student of design.

Most Caucasian patterns may be traced back through the "Kuba" group to the "Dragon Carpets" or their Persian contemporaries. The parentage of design in this Kazak rug, however, goes back by an entirely different line to the early rugs of Asia Minor. One of the earliest of these rugs still in existence, the "Dragon and Phoenix" rug of the Staatliche Museen, Berlin (Fig. 2), generally thought to have been woven in Asia Minor about 1400, has a field divided into rectangles in a manner very similar to the field of this rug. There is the same triangulation of the corners of the rectangles to form octagons, the same fondness for latch-hooks. The Marby rug in the National Historical Museum, Stockholm, is of the same class.² A similar division of the field appears in a rug depicted in Domenico di Bartolo's fresco (Spedale, Siena) of the Marriage of the Foundlings (1440-1444).³ The same type of field pattern is shown on a rug in Niccolò di Buonaccorso's Sposalizio (National Gallery, London, c. 1380), and in the Berlin Madonna no. 1072 (c. 1375) in the style of Lippo Memmi.⁴ All of these rugs mentioned for comparison show within the octagons grotesque animal forms, possibly of Mongol derivation, but the rug of Hans Memling's Virgin and Child formerly in the Austrian Imperial Palace in Vienna has a field similarly divided into rectangles modified into octagons containing motives almost identical with those in the rug under discussion (Fig. 3).

The rugs thus far cited all belong to the Seljuq period, a time when rectilinear geometry was in high favor. The rise of the Ottoman dynasty, with its conquests of Cairo and Tabriz, brought about a more sophisticated style in Turkish court circles through the adoption, first, of Cairene mosaic motives and, second, of Persian floral forms. Division of the field into rectangles was retained for a time in some of the so-called Cairene rugs (Fig. 4), but the combination was not very happy and, with the coming of Persian weavers from Tabriz, soon disappeared in favor of the wholly Persian schemes of the so-called Court Manufactory type. That is, the type disappeared in court circles. The humbler nomads of Asia Minor, true to the conservatism of their caste, retained and embellished the

design (Fig. 5), and from these early examples sprang a host of so-called Bergamas which employed a pattern derived from the old rectangle type. Perhaps the most distinguished kind is that exemplified in Figure 6. While this diversification was taking place there remained somewhere in Asia Minor peasants sufficiently faithful to tradition to keep the primitive form alive, as witness the little rug in the Ballard Collection (Fig. 7) the field of which differs in no important respect from the model used by Hans Memling. I can find no record of other nineteenth century Anatolian rugs employing this design, but its use in Kazak rugs is common. It appears also in other Caucasian weaves.

There is another seemingly unrelated group of rugs in which the same design elements have been preserved to the present day—the nomadic rugs of Central Asia. Rectangulation of the field is a cardinal element of Tekke rugs, as is the use of octagons. Latch-hooked diamonds are a favorite motive of the Yomuds, and stepped diamonds are popular in the border stripes of all the Turkoman tribes. The kinship between the rugs of Turkestan and Asia Minor is perhaps much closer than a cursory comparison of the two groups would indicate. This kinship is easily explained by the fact that the Seljuq Turks who built the foundation of the Anatolian peasant rug art that we know came from Merv, where they, or their cousins, were the forebears of the present-day Turkomans of Central Asia.

The weavers of the rugs we call Kazak are a nomadic people who roam over the hills and mountains of Erivan, a district situated roughly at the junction of Caucasasia, Asia Minor, and the Persian province of Azerbaijan. They must come into contact with the Turkish peasants of eastern Asia Minor, hence could have acquired this pattern from them and passed it on to the other Caucasian peoples. However, that is mere conjecture, and a quite different explanation is equally tenable. The Kazaks are an offshoot of the great Kirghiz horde which roams over northern Turkestan and up into the Russian steppes. The Kirghiz of the steppes also weave rugs, and the similarity of pattern between their rugs and the rug under discussion is too obvious to be explained as a coincidence. Bogoliouboff published a Kirghiz rug (Fig. 8) in the field of which are octagons differing from those of the Kazak only in that their diagonal sides are stepped rather than latch-hooked. The octagons contain the same sort of latch-hooked diamonds, and the main border is almost identical. Moreover, the Kirghiz frequently divided the field of their rugs into rectangles (Fig. 9). Both Bogoliouboff and Grote-Hasenbalg state that the Kirghiz learned the art of weaving from the Turkomans a very long time ago and have no patterns of their own. Hence it is quite credible that the pattern we are discussing was taken over by the Kirghiz from Turkomans and carried by the Kazak-Kirghiz to their present home, and there executed in new colors borrowed from their neighbors of Asia Minor. In either event it appears that a rug pattern used by the Seljuq Turks over nine hundred years ago has survived in the peasant art of Anatolian Turks, Kazaks, Turkomans, and Kirghiz, with the inescapable inference that the original pattern was developed among the hordes of Central Asia.

1. A paper read before the Hajji Baba Club.

2. Lamm, C. J., *The Marby Rug*, in Svenska Orientsällskapets Årsbok, 1937. Also published in Sarre and Trenkwald, *Altorientalischer Teppiche*, II, pl. 2.

3. For this and the following two Italian paintings see Bode and Kühnel, *Antique Rugs from the Near East*, New York, 1922, figs. 64-66.

4. There are other versions of this composition in the collection of Lord Lee of Fareham and in that of Professor Paul Clemen of Bonn. Lippo Memmi's original seems to be lost.

NOTE ON THE IMPORTANCE OF ICONOGRAPHICAL EXACTITUDE. By Erwin Panofsky.

Permit me to correct only one of Andrew Pigler's interpretations, namely that of Michelangelo's well-known composition commonly—and, in my opinion, justly—referred to as the "Sogno" or "Dream" (THE ART BULLETIN, XXI, p. 233, fig. 9).

According to Mr. Pigler, this composition represents Hypnos, or Somnus, the God of Sleep, aroused by Iris, the messenger of Juno, so that he might send veracious dreams to Halcyone (Ovid, *Metam.*, 589 ff.).

To this interpretation there are several objections all of which are borne out by the very monument which Mr. Pigler adduces as proof of his hypothesis, namely Giulio Carpione's picture in Budapest which does represent the scene in question (*ibid.*, fig. 11).

(1) The winged figure in the Michelangelo composition is not a young woman as in the Carpione picture but an adolescent who can best be described as a "genius" or angel.

(2) The main figure, on the other hand, lacks the wings which are a standing attribute of Somnus or Hypnos and are duly depicted in the Carpione picture.

(3) Ovid's Somnus, like Carpione's, reclines on a luxurious pillow whose iconographic importance is confirmed by the poet's elaborate description ("Plumeus, unicolor, pullo velamine tectus"). Michelangelo's figure is supported by the terrestrial globe.

(4) To arouse a fellow-god by sounding a trumpet would not agree with Olympian etiquette and with the usual behavior of Iris. In Carpione's picture she addresses him with becoming intensity but without noise.

(5) The dream-visions surrounding the main scene in Michelangelo's composition exemplify the capital sins, a motif utterly incompatible with the Somnus-and-Iris theory and justly absent from the picture by Carpione.

The true interpretation of Michelangelo's composition was given as early as 1642 by Hieronymus Tetius who in his description of the Barberini Palace (*Aedes Barberinae ad Quirinalem*, Rome, 1642, p. 158) describes a painted copy of the "Dream" and interprets it as follows: "First of all is seen a youth reclining on the terrestrial globe, his nude body beautifully composed of its various parts. He is roused from his sleep by an angel who puts a trumpet to his ears. This youth denotes in my opinion nothing but the Human Mind called back to Virtue from the Vices as though it were repatriated after a long journey (Mundi globo iuvenis innixus, nudo corpore, eodemque singulis membris affabre compaginato, primo se intuentibus offert; quem angelus, tuba ad aures admota, dormientem excitat: hunc non aliud referre crediderim quam ipsam Hominis mentem a vitiis ad virtutes, longo veluti postliminio, revocatam; ac proinde remota ab eius oculis longius vitia circumspicias)."

This Neoplatonic interpretation—entirely in harmony with Michelangelo's general philosophy of life—speaks for itself. The youth is indeed the Human Mind which has its real home in the supercelestial sphere while its life on earth is a dreamlike existence haunted by vices and illusions (the masks). This Mind can be "recalled" to the Good only by way of being awakened and reminded of the realm whence it came. Tetius' interpretation accounts for all the motifs left unexplained by the Somnus-and-Iris hypothesis—the lack of wings, the terrestrial globe, the trumpet, the masks, and the capital sins. And in using the legal term *postliminium* (repatriation after a long absence from one's rightful home) Tetius clearly alludes to the Neoplatonic theory of life on earth as life in "exile."

NOTE ON THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE COCK ON THE COLUMN. By Ananda K. Coomaraswamy.

To S. A. Callisen's article on this subject in THE ART BULLETIN, XXI, pp. 160 ff., I should like to add that there

is a representation of a cock on a column, of about the first century B.C., on a stele now in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow (Prayag Dayal, *Note on the Lāla Bhagat Pillar*, in the *Journ. U. P. Hist. Soc.*, IV, 1930, pp. 38-41); the column itself has upon it, amongst other subjects, a representation of the Sun (or possibly solar Buddha) in a quadriga, and there stands beside it a figure of Śrī-Lakṣmī.

We meet with the cock on a column in the *Völuspa* (Elder Edda):

"Sat there on howe, the harp a-smiting,
The Ogress' herdsman Eggthir the merry:
A fair red cock that Fjallar high
On the roosting pole beside him crowed."

Further, there is a cock in Heaven and one in Hell, a fact that need not surprise us in view of the constant ambivalence of symbols:

"Over the Gods crowed Goldencomb,
At Heriafather's folk he wakes:
But under Earth another crows,
A ruddy cock in the realms of Hell!"—

no doubt the aforesaid Fjallar.

There might have been cited from the English folksong, *A Bold Young Farmer*,

"There sits a bird on yonder tree,
They say it's blind and cannot see,"

where, of course, the "tree" is the church steeple. In this connection, I am far from sure that Callisen himself has understood

quare super domum Domini gallus solet stare.

It is because the cock, like the dove and the Indian *harisa*, is the spiritual Sun in a likeness. In Callisen's fig. 14, a representation of Peter's denial from the Codex Egberti, the cock is crowing from the summit of a domed building (the continuous narration, in which successive moments are shown in a single composition, may be remarked); but there is no need to attribute this to the development of a realistic tendency in art. The dome or domed house is the universe in a likeness, the *domus Domini*, of which the central axis, notwithstanding that it is generally invisible, or recognizable only in its extension as the vertical of the cross that may surmount the dome, is as much the Axis Mundi as the column that elsewhere supports the cock or any other sun-symbol. In the same way the ambiguity of the cock on a dunghill or upon a mountain (Callisen's footnote 83) is not without significance: the top of the dunghill corresponds to the Mountain of the Lord as adequately as does the natural cock to the Supernal Sun.

It would never have occurred to me, especially in view of the fact that few, if any, of the Christian symbols are novel, to suppose that the cock as a solar symbol had any but a "pagan" origin. There can be no doubt that the cock is a sun bird, a symbol of the "Sun of men." We find it associated with even more unmistakable solar symbols, such as the rosette and wheel, on Thracian and South Italian coins (Roes, *L'animal au signe solaire*, in the *Rev. Arch.*, Oct.-Dec., 1938, p. 180). But, as remarked by Roes (*ibid.*, p. 179), "le culte du soleil n'a pas joué un rôle prédominant en Grèce," and one would presume an Asiatic origin for the motif. The original home of the cock is in India (the earliest literary reference being in the *Vājasaneyi Samhitā*, perhaps 1000 B.C.), where the bird is still a sacrificial animal. The *Anguttara Nikāya*, I, 188, speaks of the Buddha's "cock-crow," analogous to his "lion's roar" and other voices, in which the Truth is proclaimed. The Buddha is himself the "Wake," and in fact "awakened at dawn," and all the purpose of his teaching is to "awaken" others. It is in the same way that the cock is also, as Callisen says, a symbol of "Christ who awakens us to life."

NOTE ON THE LABORS OF THE MONTHS. By Carson Webster.

I should like to call attention to a few items omitted from the material cited in the Catalogue of *My Labors of the Months* (Princeton and Evanston, 1938). One is an obituary of Notre Dame of Chartres now at St. Etienne (Loire), *Bibliothèque de la Ville*, 104. It should have appeared under my no. 31 with the "Calendar of St. Mesmin" (Vat. reg. lat. 1263), for the cycle, reproduced by drawings in the work cited there (Merlet and Clerval, *Un manuscrit chartrain . . .*) is identical with that of the Calendar of St. Mesmin. (The *Catalogue générale, Départements XXI*, Paris, 1893, 264-65, does not describe or identify the miniatures.) The manuscript of St. Etienne is slightly later, being presumed to date c. 1026-28, as the *obit* of Fulbert, bishop of Chartres (†1028), is in a new hand, whereas the *obit* of Richard II, Duke of Normandy (†1026), is not; it however seems to have copied their common model somewhat more closely than the Calendar of St. Mesmin.

A cycle is found in the twelfth century Psalter of St. Albans, preserved in the Church of St. Godehard at Hildesheim (Adolf Goldschmidt, *Der Albanipsalter in Hildesheim . . .*, Berlin, 1895, 146-47, fig. 43, drawing of March, and pl. IV, Sept.). The cycle departs from the English usage in two months. The return of vegetation alluded to by the man holding a blossoming twig, in which a bird perches, does not occur in other English cycles for March; however, the idea is common, in the Bloombearer regularly found for April and perhaps a parallel to the present scene is found in the figure holding hawk and branch in a manuscript of Cambridge (my no. 92). The appearance of Reaping for July is found nowhere else among English cycles, and its presence here, taken in conjunction with the unusual scene for March, suggests that the cycle of the manuscript is based on models which were not English. These indications, however, are neither definite nor extensive enough to suggest a given country; aside from the hesitant March the cycle corresponds well with that of twelfth century France.

An early mediaeval cycle from Greece appears in a mosaic from a basilica near Tegea (*Arch. Anzeiger* XLIX, 1934, col. 156) in which the months occur as personifications. Unfortunately the late twelfth century cycle of a tapestry in the Museum of Industrial Art at Oslo is too fragmentary to afford a view of the theme in the northern countries, as only two of its very stylized labors remain (illustrated by Emile Mâle, *Iconographie de l'art profane*, The Hague, 1932, fig. 275). Dr. Hans Swarzenski has kindly called to my attention a knife handle, probably of the early thirteenth century, in the Museo Sforzesco at Milan; it apparently follows the English usage in deferring Reaping to August by including the scene of Weeding for July.

KAPITELLSTUDIEN. BEITRÄGE ZU EINER GESCHICHTE DES SPÄTANTIKEN KAPITELS IM OSTEN VOM VIERTEN BIS INS SIEBENTE JAHRHUNDERT. STUDIEN ZUR SPÄTANTIKEN KUNSTGESCHICHTE. By Rudolf Kautzsch. 267 pp.; 52 pls.; 6 ill. Berlin, Leipzig, Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1936.

Kautzsch presents in this volume the results of many a year's thorough and tiresome research. At an age when most people retire from work, Kautzsch started conquering a field which before had been entirely unknown, not only to him but to most archeologists and art historians, the field of Early Christian architectural decoration. For two and a half years he traveled in the countries along the coasts of the Eastern Mediterranean, everywhere collecting the materials for a "History of the late antique capital in the East from the fourth to the seventh century." Such is the subtitle of the book, which defines very clearly the purpose and the limits of the undertaking.

In the introduction Kautzsch explains the outlines and the methods of his work: he has restricted himself to the Near East, excluding the West almost entirely; only when it was necessary have capitals in the cities along the Upper Adria been referred to. Within the Near East he limits himself to a number of provinces, and within these to a number of places which seemed to him representative of the provinces, to Salona, Alexandria and Cairo, to Constantinople, to Greece and some places in Asia Minor, and to Jerusalem.

Chronologically he starts his investigation with the beginning of the fourth century, and leads it up through the sixth century, through the reign of the two Justinians, ending up with a very brief survey of the development during the seventh century. While the earlier attempts made by Strzygowski, Weigand, and de Jerphanion had taken up only part of the question by investigating the development of single capital types, Kautzsch deals with all the different types of capitals in use in the Near East. The Corinthian capital; the capitals with "finely indented acanthus" (the so-called "Theodosian capital"); the capitals with wind blown acanthus leaves; the two-zone capitals with a zone of animals above and a lower zone of acanthus leaves; the Ionic impost capitals and the normal non-Ionic impost capitals—these are the literal translations of Kautzsch's categories.

Thus a survey of the capitals of the Near East from the fourth through the sixth century has been achieved, a survey of the different types concerned and of their respective development. A plethora of material has been assembled and arranged in a very lucid way. Kautzsch's catalogue enumerates more than 850 numbers and about one-third of them are reproduced in good illustrations. Neatness and clarity are typical of the arrangement of the main part as well as of the catalogue. The indices are excellent. All these technical features make it easy to handle the book without getting lost in the vastness of the material. There are very few works in the Early Christian field which convey to the reader such an impression of solidity and thoroughness. The descriptions go into every smallest detail. Though far from entertaining, they are very instructive for people who have the moral strength to go through with them. Kautzsch's thorough and particularized scholarship becomes evident again and again.

The book has thus made available an enormous mass of material and an almost entirely new field of Late Antique and Early Christian archeology has been conquered. I do not think it is in any way an exaggeration to say that before Kautzsch no Early Christian archeologist could have a complete idea of this important field. Only through Kautzsch's gigantic attempt does it become possible to deal with the new field as a whole. In reviewing this magnum opus and in adding a few critical remarks, I want to emphasize the fact that even these critical remarks are made possible only through Kautzsch's achievement.

Kautzsch's method is of a typological nature. He classifies the capitals according to the existence or non-existence of their constituent elements. He determines whether the Corinthian capitals show eight lower and eight upper leaves, or eight lower leaves and four upper ones, or four leaves in both rows, or only one row of four leaves; whether the single leaves have four or three points; whether or not these points touch each other. He determines whether or not there exist covering leaves, caules, inner and outer helices, abacus flowers and so forth. Likewise the development of the Ionic capital, of the two-zone capital, of the impost capital and of the folded capital is classified according to morphological data. There is very little doubt that this method which before Kautzsch had been developed especially by Weigand¹ is by far preferable to a merely

1. Weigand, E., in *Athenische Mitteilungen*, 1914, pp. 1 ff. and *idem*, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 1914-19, pp. 172 ff.

stylistic method as used by Strzygowski and by Riegl forty years ago. Then the decisive criterion had been whether the *acanthus mollis* or the *acanthus spinosus* had been used and whether the points of the leaves touched each other, thus creating the famous "Tiefendunkel." Kautzsch is certainly right in stating that at least during the fifth century there were "everywhere . . . in use different types of *acanthus*" (p. 109); he is likewise right in emphasizing that the "Tiefendunkel" alone can not be used by any means as an exclusive criterion. The substitution of a number of exact typological criteria for somewhat arbitrarily selected stylistic ones indicates the great progress achieved by Kautzsch's (and Weigand's) researches if compared to those started in the last decades of the nineteenth century. On the other hand Kautzsch is far from disregarding stylistic elements altogether as Weigand had done. On the contrary, the whole of his general conception is based on a quite precise stylistic idea: according to him (and I consider this to be another very important result of his studies) the whole development strives toward substituting a capital of a more bulky and geometrical shape for the organic one of the classical period. The basic form of the capital loses in height; the distance between the cantharus and the surrounding elements, the leaves, caules, helices, decreases, and the space between them is filled in by sculptural mass; the whole assumes the shape of a low reversed truncated pyramid. This development of the Corinthian capital which takes place mainly during the fifth century is accompanied and continued by the introduction of new types in which the basic conception of a geometrical inorganic capital is freely admitted: the impost capitals and the folded capitals lead directly from the antique form to a new one which keeps no relation whatsoever with the classical capital and its development.

For the very reason that I consider Kautzsch's magnum opus as one of the outstanding achievements in Late Antique and Early Christian archeology, some criticism will be admitted. First, two questions arise as to Kautzsch's method. The basis from which he starts is a typological one. Precisely because of this I am inclined to wonder whether it is justifiable to treat the Composite capital on principle as a mere appendix to the Corinthian capital. After all, the Composite capital with its egg and dart motif at the upper edge of the cantharus constitutes a type of its own, which, although it shares with the Corinthian capital the shape and details of the lower zone, is quite different from it in the upper half. This fact seems the more important, since, through emphasizing the independent character of the Composite capital, it would have been much easier to explain the origin of the "Theodosian capital" which simply replaces the egg and dart motif by a wreath of palmettes. Kautzsch seems to neglect this connection because he assumes that the Composite capital had become quite rare during the fourth and fifth centuries and had been revived not before the sixth century, and then only with finely indented *acanthus* leaves. I feel unable to decide the question, but I recall at least one very fine Composite capital which according to the form of the leaves ought to be fifth century. It is found in a destroyed mosque at Nicea not far from the Green Mosque; I reproduce it since it seems to have escaped Kautzsch's scrutiny (Fig. 1). A second one of similar type is among my photographs—unfortunately without indication of place; it is in a small village I passed on my way from Ephesus to Miletus.

While this question, however, can certainly not be decided offhand, a second problem seems more doubtful: Kautzsch considers the capitals with "full leaves" as forming a group by themselves. Now one may perhaps admit that these capitals (which indicate only the outline of the leaves without any interior design) were occasionally used on purpose; this may hold true of some of the capitals of Salona (Kautzsch, no. 23-27) and of some of the Egyptian capitals (Kautzsch, no. 145, 149, 734). Normally, however,

the so-called capitals with "full leaves" certainly represent no separate type. They are but unfinished Corinthian capitals, as Kautzsch admits in at least one place, and they were used throughout Classical Antiquity and well into the Early Middle Ages whenever the edifice remained unfinished or whenever finishing the capitals seemed unnecessary because of the position of the capital within the building (Colosseum; Corvey, porch). That this holds also in Early Christian times is evidenced, for instance, by the five matched pairs of half-columns of the type usually used for windows in the Near East, of unknown provenance, now in the garden of the Museum of Constantinople (Fig. 3). There the same twin column shows always on one side a capital with full leaves or a capital with flat design, and on the other side the very same capital in "Tiefendunkel" design. In other words it is always the same capital, only in three different stages of completion (or rather four, since the flat design appears again in two stages, before and after the use of the drill). Evidently the completed capitals were intended to face towards the galleries of the church from which they could be seen, and the incomplete one towards the exterior. Parallel cases are frequent. I quote only the capitals in basilica A at Thebes.² If capitals with full leaves are "rarely found in Constantinople and Greece" (p. 210) this would prove only that in those centers of the Imperial building activity, the tendency was directed more towards completing even smaller details. Likewise the bare impost capitals which are treated as an independent group (p. 193) seem to represent incomplete impost capitals: Kautzsch himself points out that they occur exclusively in utilitarian buildings such as cisterns. In only one case was the form used aesthetically, namely in the cistern behind the Thecla Basilica at Meriamlik where it became a forerunner of the cubic capital (p. 193 s.).³

Of far greater importance than these typological questions, however, are two other problems, that of the selection of the material, topographically and systematically, and that of chronology. Topographically Kautzsch is dealing with the capitals of the Near East. He stresses Salona, Constantinople, Alexandria, Jerusalem, some places in Asia Minor, such as Ephesus, Meriamlik and Miletus, and Greece. Syria is partly omitted and partly admitted, and so are Egypt and Asia Minor. Kautzsch stresses the fact that he was unable to visit the whole of the Near East, and whoever knows the Near East is acquainted with the difficulties of collecting material in those parts of the world. Nobody would expect completeness in such an enormous task; one must rather admire Kautzsch's assiduity in most of the places he included. Indeed, he emphasizes in his preface that he does not claim to have written a complete history of his subject, but merely contributions to such a history. On the other hand, the book goes far beyond being mere contribution. Its conclusions are the conclusions of a comprehensive history of the Late Antique capital in the East. This being the case, one would have liked either a larger survey of the whole field, or if this was humanly impossible (as it was; I know the conditions under which Kautzsch had to make this study) one would have accepted rather a certain regional limitation based on the introduction of a selective principle. It would have been perfectly legitimate for instance to subdivide the Near East into its two architectural areas, the coastlands and the inlands, which would correspond to the divisions first advanced by Guyer, divisions with which (except for certain mental reservations) this reviewer has always identified himself. In so doing, it would have been perfectly legitimate to concentrate on the coastlands from which most of Kautzsch's material is taken, and to omit

2. Soterios, G. A., *AI XPISTIANIKAI ΘΗΒΑΙ* . . . , 1931, fig. 71.

3. Licht, E., *Ottomische und frühromanische Kapitelle in Deutschland*, Diss. Marburg, 1935, pp. 76 ff.



FIG. 1—Nicaea: Composite Capital



FIG. 2—Constantinople, St. John of the Patrikios Studios: Ionic Im-post Capital in the Nave



FIG. 3—*Constantinople, Ottoman Museum: Twin Columns and Unfinished Capitals*

the inlands completely. Then Meriamlik, Djambazli and Korykos, and a number of other places could have been omitted. As it is, hardly any reason is evident for dedicating a whole chapter to the "Wulst-, Knauf- und Zweizonenkapitelle in Syrien, Kleinasien, Mesopotamien und Armenien" while the Corinthian capitals in these regions are altogether omitted. If some of the inland regions were included, I cannot find, I am afraid, any legitimate reason for excluding the rest of Syria, of Asia Minor and of Transjordan. Why is Kanytelideis included, while Anazarbos is missing? Why is Jerusalem elaborately treated, though in the fifth and sixth centuries it was no more a center of building activity than Geras, while at Geras just one capital in the Museum is mentioned, although nine or ten churches with capitals are still preserved there? One wonders why Alexandria and Cairo are included, while the White and Red Monasteries at Sohag and the edifices at Baout are missing; why the Cyrenaica is missing although architecturally it forms part of the Near Eastern coastlands. Since it was humanly impossible to cover the whole field, a selective principle, even at the sacrifice of some scattered material, would have resulted in greater clarity. It seems somewhat risky to make just the places covered the representative centers of Early Christian architectural decoration.

The determination of these centers is linked up with a general assumption according to which Constantinople and a few other Eastern cities and only these played an important part in the development of the Late Antique capital. The Adriatic coastlands are, according to the preface, excluded because they did not form part of the Eastern Empire until Justinian—although Salona is included. Aside from this historical reason (which is a matter of contention, I am afraid, since at least from the second quarter of the fifth century on, the Adriatic coastlands formed a cultural unit with Constantinople) there is a second one: Kautzsch considers the capitals of the Adriatic coastlands as either late instances or an aftermath of types developed in Constantinople. Now there can be no doubt that these capitals, like the whole architecture of Ravenna, of Grado, of Parenzo, are closely connected with workshops in Constantinople. But since these cities were most important centers of Byzantine culture, I doubt whether it can be maintained that their art is only a bad (and late; I am going to deal with that part of the question later) derivative of the art of Byzantium. The capitals at S. Vitale or at Parenzo are certainly in no way inferior to those in Salonica, or in Salona or Ephesus; they are equal in quality to most capitals in Constantinople. I am afraid that the old "Rome or Orient" theory, with its belief in the superiority of the East over the West (which is a matter of discussion) has reached a point where even the western provinces of the Eastern Empire fall under that stigma. Now Heaven knows that any scholar is constantly in danger of overrating the importance of his own special field while underrating the field in which his neighbor is toiling. I may be in danger of that now; but I am perfectly ready to admit that from the "capitalist's" point of view, Rome does not offer much interest. (I do not know why Kautzsch nevertheless included Rome in an appendix; aside from the Ionic capital which has a very interesting development in Rome, the decorative side of architecture was neglected by the Roman Early Christian builders.) But the Adriatic coastlands were at least as important as Greece and Asia Minor, and they would, I think, have yielded important material and important dates.

This leads to the question of chronology in general. I mentioned before that Kautzsch starts from a general conception of the development, and a very convincing one. To repeat it briefly, the general trend goes from the still classical organic cantharus type of the fourth century to the inorganic massive block type of the sixth century. Within this evolution, different groups are distinguished

and again the determination of these groups as well as their relative sequence are quite persuasively explained. But the proofs given are not always equally convincing. While the relative chronology of these groups is quite convincing, the transformation of the relative chronology into an absolute chronology supported by well-established dates is frequently missing. The reason for this discrepancy is indicated by Kautzsch himself when he states that "since dated instances are rare" his task was "to arrange the single capitals in evolutionary series and to correlate these series. Finally, it ought to be possible to give to this relative sequence of series by means of single given dates an absolute significance" (p. 2). Yet I think that the reverse method might have been safer. Of course, there is no doubt that regrettably few well established dates referring to capitals in the Near East are known. But I wonder whether there do not exist many more dated capitals than those used, and whether many of the dates mentioned could not have been more exploited. I mention for Egypt two capitals at Der el Baramus, dated before 399⁴ and the capitals of Der Abu Makar (which Kautzsch mentions without drawing any conclusions from their date), 477-91;⁵ for Geras, Transjordan (since Kautzsch includes this city), the capitals in the cathedral about 375, and in St. John the Baptist, 529-31. I might refer as well to some other instances such as the capital (no. 649) which is dated by the monogram of Theodora, or the Ionic impost capitals of the church of the Patrikios Studios, of which I photographed one inside the church (South side, Fig. 2) and which may safely be dated 463.⁶ In this connection the capitals in the Adriatic and Italian cities become particularly important. Of course, Kautzsch mentions their dates; but because of his mistrust of the West, he frequently comes to conclusions which seem not entirely justified. The two zone capital with palmetto garlands in the lower zone, of which no dated instances exist in the East, is dated by means of the two capitals of this type at S. Clemente in Rome, 514-23; from the existence of these capitals in the second decade of the sixth century in Rome, Kautzsch concludes that the capitals of that type in the East should be considerably earlier and that "about 500 or not long after that date their time is over" (p. 161). Yet some of the capitals of the nave and the four capitals of the canopy of the High Altar of Parenzo present exactly this type, and as Kautzsch mentions several times, Parenzo is dated 543-53. Since Parenzo, because of its quality as well as of the kinship of its other capital types with Justinian types in Constantinople, cannot be fifty years later than the related types in the Near East, it is only logical to assume that the two zone capital with palmetto garlands must have been in existence in Constantinople as late as the middle of the sixth century. Likewise the numerous capitals at S. Spirito in Ravenna (p. 215) are not sufficiently used; far from forming part of an "aftermath" of the Corinthian capital which would last from the middle of the sixth to the middle of the eighth century, they are well dated, probably between 493 and 526, and certainly before 556 (when the originally Arian church was rededicated to Catholicism). All the capitals in the church are identical, and it seems to me that they might have been important for dating some capitals at Constantinople (no. 199) and possibly also at Jerusalem (no. 317). Likewise the date of a group of late capitals in Jerusalem (no. 801 ff.) might have been confirmed by the capitals from the ciborium of S. Agnese in Rome (625-38)—although the capitals in Rome are certainly of a far inferior quality.

These few objections might give the impression that

4. White, H. G. E., and Hauser, W., *The monasteries of the Wâdi 'in Natrân*, III, pl. LXXIV, B and pl. LXXV, A.

5. *Ibid.*, pl. XXVI.

6. I believe them to have belonged to the galleries in spite of Gyllius' contrary statement; Gyllius is not very reliable, as proved by other erroneous indications of his.

Kautzsch's chronology is merely somewhat loose, and needs just a few more supporting dates. But Kautzsch's chronology is not at all loose, at least not his relative chronology. On the contrary, his relative chronology is extremely tight. It is so tight that dates, even if available, are frequently not only disregarded, but even reversed in order to fit the development assumed. Undoubtedly Kautzsch is right in mistrusting many of the traditional dates, and undoubtedly he is right in sometimes severing the capital from the date of construction of the edifice: for example, he is right in placing the two capitals from the narthex gallery of S. Lorenzo f.l.m. at Rome, which I myself had erroneously linked to the construction date of 571-90,⁷ at the end of the fifth century. In other cases it might perhaps have been safer to maintain the traditional dates, I am not sure, for instance, whether it was really necessary to date Korykos cathedral 533 instead of 429, because the capitals do not seem to fit the development postulated. I want to quote Kautzsch's own words (p. 143): "As long as there is no definite contrary evidence, it is absolutely probable that for a church of that kind the capitals were done ad hoc..." The possible fallacy of the method Kautzsch uses contrary to this excellent maxim becomes evident in the chapter on the Corinthian capital in Constantinople. In the beginning of this chapter, Kautzsch presents three capitals through which the whole development might be dated: the capitals from the Golden Gate, which he dates following Weigand about 425; the capital of the column of Marcian, which is dated 450-57; and finally the capitals from the Forum Tauri. These latter capitals are dated 375-98 by Rice and Casson, while Kautzsch dates them "after 447 or possibly even after 461" (p. 44) when the forum was rebuilt after different destructions. The reason for dating them so late is that their shape and their details seem impossible to Kautzsch at the earlier date. As a fourth instance are added, though with some reservations, the capitals from the cistern near the church of St. John of the Patrikios Studios, which, since the foundation walls of the cistern are presumably so disposed as to take into account the foundation walls of the church (dated 463), should be later than this date. The similarity between these capitals and those from the Forum Tauri are taken for a proof of the later dating for the Forum Tauri capitals; and both of them are used in order to date the Corinthian capital in Constantinople in the last third of the fifth century.

Now the dating of this cistern is pretty unsafe. According to the Russian excavations, an older building is situated under the present church, arranged on a slightly oblique axis, and it is this older edifice which is taken into consideration by the foundation walls of the cistern: their axes are parallel. Thus the cistern not only can be, but must be older than 463, the date of the present church. That would also explain the antiquated character of the acanthus of the cistern capitals which is stressed by Kautzsch himself. Already this would point to an earlier date for the capitals from the Forum Tauri as well. But this likelihood can be definitely proved through the results of the excavations recently undertaken by A. M. Schneider, in the atrium of Hagia Sophia.⁸ There a number of capitals were found, belonging to the portico of the second Hagia Sophia, 404-15, and those capitals belonging to the columns of the porch form the nearest parallel to the Forum Tauri capitals. On the other hand, two pillar capitals belonging to this same portico are stylistically exactly like the capitals from the Golden Gate, and are almost like them typologically. What can be concluded from this finding is that first, the capitals from the Forum Tauri

should be dated, rather, about 390 (as Rice and Casson had done); that second, the whole group of capitals in Constantinople the date of which depends on the date of the Forum Tauri consequently might be dated earlier than Kautzsch has done; that third, the capitals of the Golden Gate may perhaps be a little earlier than 425 (although this is a minor point); and fourth and above all, that various types of capitals were used one beside another, not only with different stylistic features, but also with a different morphological set up, proving that it is not necessary to think always of a historical sequence when the morphological forms are different. This does not prevent us from realizing that one of the two forms is genetically earlier than the other one. But this is a question of relative chronology, not of absolute chronology. Perhaps one should leave more room for the variances of different workshops and temperaments working side by side, and not try to press the absolute chronology too definitely into a steel skeleton formed by the relative one.

I want to add just one more remark. In quite a number of cases, it might have been possible to gain further chronological evidence by considering the capital not as an isolated object, but in a closer connection with the architectural history of the edifice. The contrast between the undoubtedly earlier capital types in the narthex, the nave, and the eastern wing behind the apse of H. Demetrios in Salonica on the one hand and of the undoubtedly later ones in both apse and transept (a contrast which seems to Kautzsch difficult to explain) could be accounted for by analyzing the architectural history of the monument. Without going into detail, it may be pointed out that apse and transept are undoubtedly later than the eastern wing and the narthex, as proved by the difference of masonry, by breaks in it, and by overlappings of single parts.

To sum up: it would have been preferable in my opinion if Kautzsch had chosen just the opposite method from that indicated on page 2; that is, to gather first all the available dates, to give a list and illustrations of all these instances and then to build his development around these fixed points. Further support could have been obtained by linking up the capitals with dated elements of architectural decoration other than capitals, such as friezes, screen slabs, and so forth. While the morphological set up of these other decorative members is necessarily quite different from the capitals, the form of the single elements used, for example of the leaves, is similar and might have helped to support the chronological series.

I have written at length on these points because I think they are pivotal points in the method of the book. The importance of the work seemed to justify an elaborate criticism. But I want to repeat what I said in the beginning of this review: only through Kautzsch's book, through the assiduity and the thoroughness of his work has it become possible not only to make critical remarks at all, but to see for the first time with some clarity in the field of Late Antique architectural decoration. Aside from this general achievement, quite a number of single questions concerning the architectural history of late antiquity, pagan and Christian, have been set on a new basis, and opened to new discussion. I want to point to the problems connected with the architectural history of H. Demetrios, of H. Sophia in Salonica, of Korykos, of Amida. Whether the new dates proposed for those buildings and the new position thus assigned to them—very cautiously indeed—will be accepted is less relevant than the fact that new material for discussing the problems has been presented. We can not thank the author enough for having opened to scholarship new and vast fields. His book will remain for a long time to come not only the initial, but the standard work in this subject.

RICHARD KRAUTHEIMER

7. Krautheimer, R., in *Riv. Arch. Crist.*, 1934, pp. 285 ff.

8. *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, 1935, p. 282; and in *American Journal of Archeology*, 1937, pp. 1 ff.

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